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Morgan, Lewis Henry, 1818-
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League of the Ho-d e-no-sau-
nee or Iroquois

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LEAGUE
OF THE
HO-DE'-NO-SAU-NEE
OR
IROQUOIS

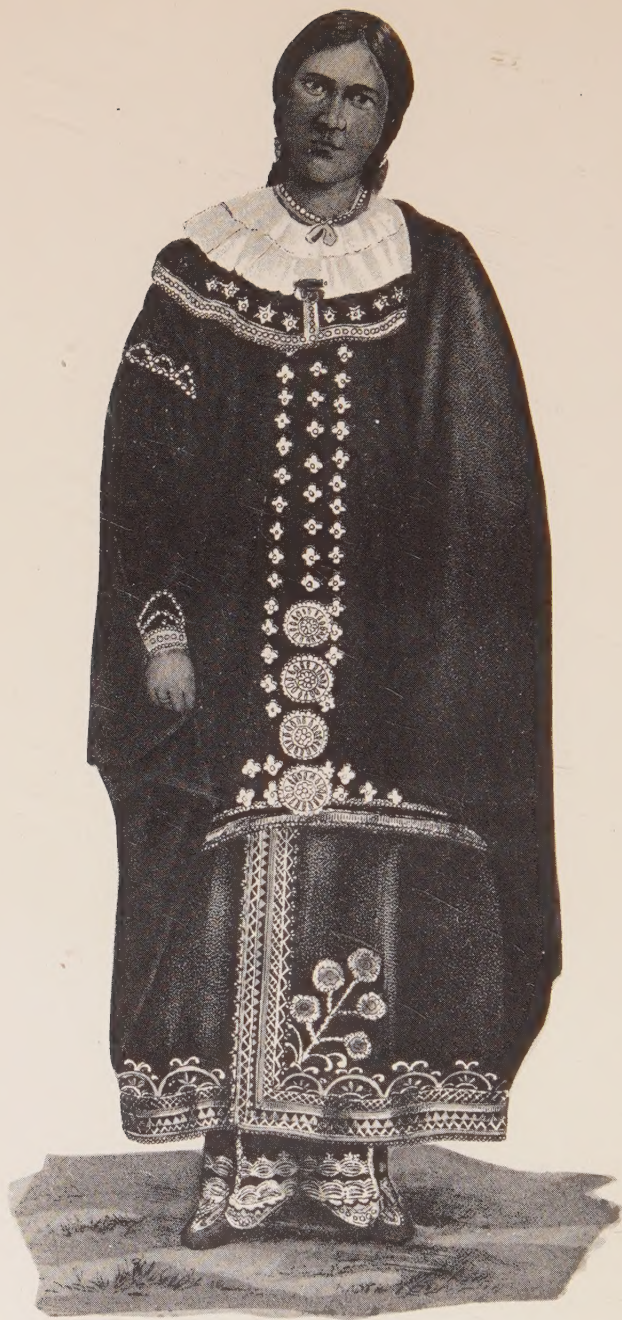
VOLUME II

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GÄ-HAH-NÖ
A SENECA INDIAN GIRL IN THE COSTUME OF THE IREQUOIS.

LEAGUE
OF THE
HO-DE'-NO-SAU-NEE
OR
IROQUOIS

By LEWIS H. MORGAN

A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONAL MATTER EDITED
AND ANNOTATED BY

HERBERT M. LLOYD

VOLUME II

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HO-DE'-NO-SAU-NEE
OR
PEOPLE OF THE LONG HOUSE

- I. Gä-ne-ä'-ga-o-no', or People Possessors of the Flint
MOHAWK NATION
- II. O-nun'-dä-ga-o-no', or People on the Hills
ONONDAGA NATION
- III. Nun-da'-wä-o-no', or Great Hill People
SENECA NATION
- IV. O-na'-yote-kä-o-no', or Granite People
ONEIDA NATION
- V. Gwe-u'-gweh-o-no', or People at the Mucky Land
CAYUGA NATION
- VI. Dus-ga'-o-weh-o-no', or Shirt Wearing People
TUSCARORA NATION

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INCIDENT TO THE LEAGUE

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VOWEL SOUNDS

ä as in arm

ǣ as in at

a as in ale

ě as in met

ō as in tone

BOOK THIRD
INCIDENT TO THE LEAGUE



GA'-O-WO
or
BARK CANOE.

League of the Iroquois

BOOK III

INCIDENT TO THE LEAGUE

Chapter I

Fabrics of the Iroquois — Their Artisan Intellect — Indian Pottery — Earthen Vessels — Moccason — War Club — Tomahawk — Rope Making — Finger Weaving — Bark Vessels — Bark Canoe — Corn Mortar — Maize — Tobacco — Snow Shoe — Indian Saddle — Miscellaneous Inventions — Basket Making — Costumes — Wampum — Baby Frame — Diffusion of Indian Arts — Improvement of the Iroquois

THE fabrics of a people unlock their social history. They speak a language which is silent, but yet more eloquent than the written page. As memorials of former times, they commune directly with the beholder, opening the unwritten history of the period they represent, and clothing it with perpetual freshness. However rude the age, or uncultivated the people from whose hands they come, the products of human ingenuity are ever invested with a peculiar and even solemn interest. It is greatly to be regretted that so few remains of the skill and industry of the Iroquois have come down to the present age, to illustrate the era of Indian occupation. Although their fabrics are indicative of a low state of the useful arts, the artificial contrivances by which

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

they were surrounded are yet the indices of their social condition, and for this reason are not devoid of instruction. Further than this, it is but just to them to save from oblivion the fruits of their inventive intellect, however unpretending they may seem, that, in the general judgment pronounced upon their memory, they may not be defrauded of even their humblest inventions.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Since the commencement of European intercourse, and especially within the last century, great changes have been wrought among the Iroquois. Their primitive fabrics have mostly passed away, and with them, many of their original inventions.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The introduction of articles of more skilful manufacture has led to the gradual disuse of many of their simple arts. At the present moment, therefore, much of the fruit of their inventive capacity is entirely lost. Fragments, it is true, are frequently disentombed from the resting-places to which they had been consigned by their burial rites, but they are mere vestiges of the past, and afford but a slight indication of their social condition, or of the range of their artisan intellect. It would now be extremely difficult to furnish a full description of their implements, domestic utensils, and miscellaneous fabrics. Many of the inventions of the earlier Iroquois are still preserved among their descendants now residing within our limits and in Canada ; but that portion of them which would especially serve to illustrate the condition of the hunter life have passed beyond our reach.

The remains of Indian art which are found scattered over the soil of New York are of two distinct kinds,

THEIR ARTISAN INTELLECT

and to be ascribed to widely different periods. The first class belong to the ante-Columbian period, or the era of the "Mound Builders,"⁽³⁶⁾ whose defensive works, mounds, and sacred enclosures are scattered so profusely throughout the west.¹ With the second period may be connected the name of the Iroquois. It will also include the remains of the fugitive races, who, since the extermination of the "Mound Builders," have displaced each other in succession, until the period of the Iroquois commenced.

In the fabrics of the Iroquois a wide range is observable. It reaches from the rudest specimens of pottery of the ancient, to the most delicate needlework of the modern Iroquois. Since the era of the discovery, and the commencement of their intercourse with Europeans, a gradual revolution has been effected. Their social condition has changed greatly, and is changing from day to day. With equal pace their simple arts have been dropping from their hands, one after the other, as they have taken up agricultural pursuits, until at the present epoch the fabrics of the Iroquois contrast very strangely with those of their ancestors. In their present advanced condition, a large proportion of their articles are of a mixed character. They rather exhibit the application of Indian ingenuity to fabrics

¹ The remains of this period indicate a semi-civilization of the most imposing character, including a considerable development of the art of agriculture. Exclusive of the mounds and enclosures, they have left implements of copper and chert, of stone, porphyry and earthen, some of which are elaborately and ingeniously wrought. The fugitive specimens belonging to this period, which are occasionally found within the limits of our State, are much superior to any of the productions of the earlier Iroquois.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

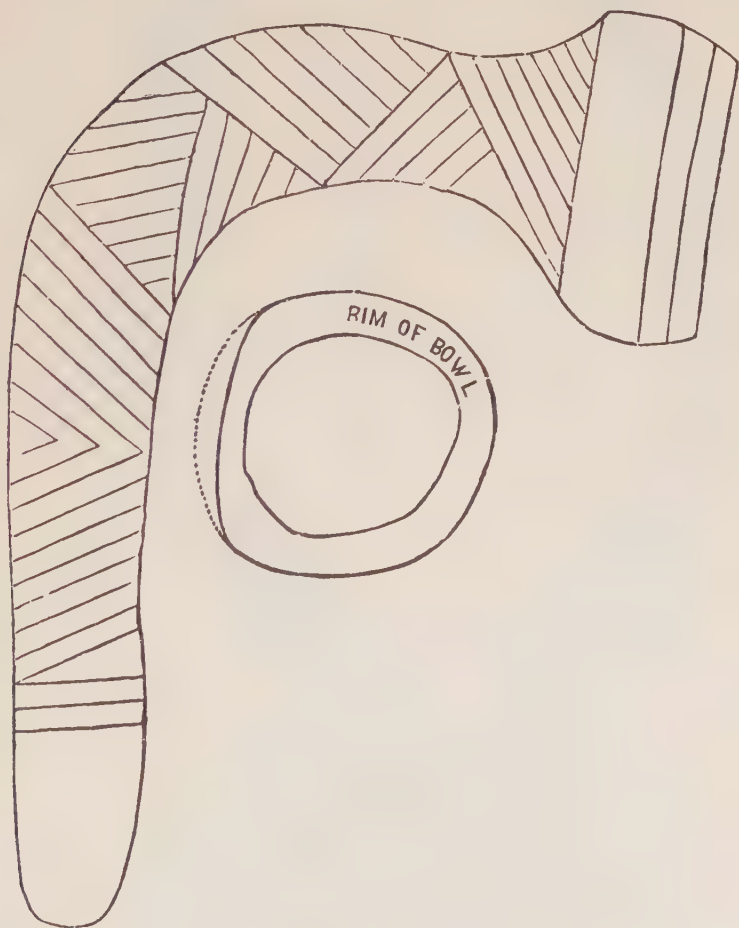
of foreign manufacture, as shown in their reduction into use, than originality of invention. But this class of articles are not without a peculiar interest. They furnish no slight indication of artisan capacity, and will serve as a species of substitute for those articles which they have displaced, and those inventions which they have hurried into forgetfulness.

One of the most ancient Indian arts was that of pottery. It was carried to considerable perfection by the Iroquois at an early day, as is shown by the specimens which are still occasionally disinterred from the burial-places, where they were deposited beside the dead; but the art itself has been so long disused that it is now entirely lost. Pipes, and earthen pots of various designs and sizes, are the principal articles thus found. Some of these specimens of black pottery, which is the best variety, are of so fine a texture as to admit of a tolerable polish, and so firm as to have the appearance of stone. Their common pottery is of a clay color, and is a compound of common clay and pulverized quartz.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

This pipe is of black pottery, well finished, and nearly as hard as marble, and is also represented at its actual size. In some specimens the bowl is fronted with a human face, or with a wolf's or dog's head. Frequently these imitations are delicately, even exquisitely made. Another species of pipe, in use among the Iroquois in later times, was cut out of soapstone, which yields readily to metallic instruments. A representation of one of these pipes of Seneca manufacture, will be found in the plate (I. 105). It is fronted with a human face, and designed to be used with a

PIPES

stem-piece of reed. The other, in the same plate, is also a modern Iroquois pipe, made of Catlinite, or the

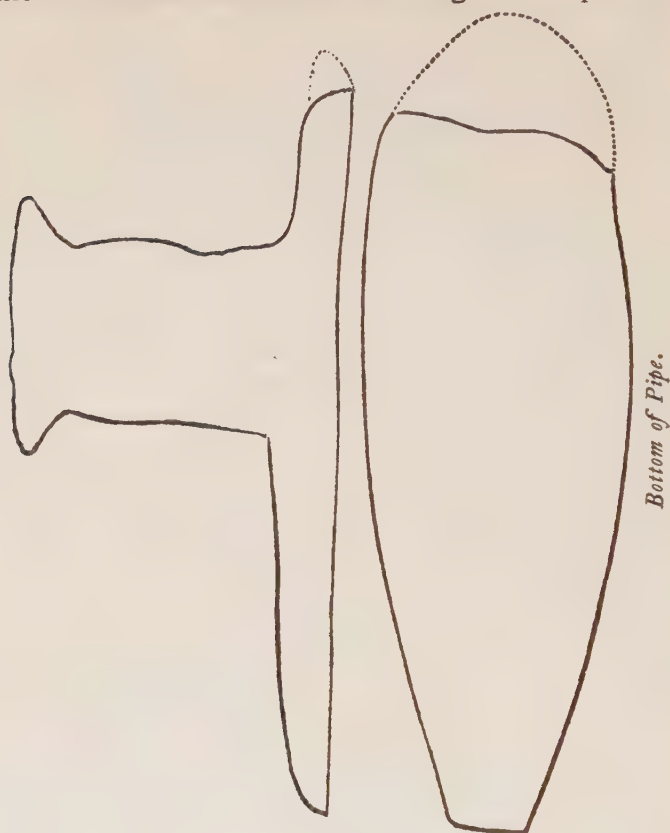


Ab-se-quä'-tä, or Iroquois Pipe, Lima, Liv. Co., N. Y.

red Missouri pipe-stone. Pipes of this description are used chiefly among the Sioux, by whom they were in-

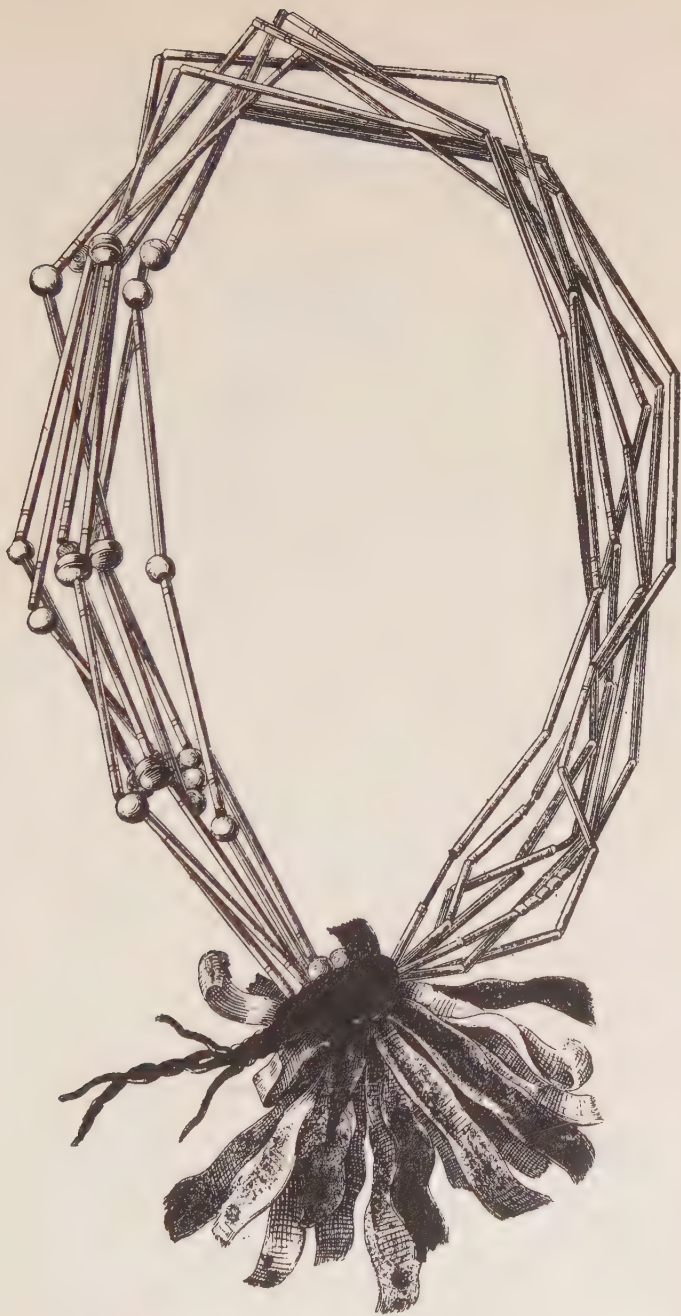
LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

troduced into use, and other western Indians; and were rather accidental than common among the Iroquois.



Pipe of the Mound Builders, Valley of the Genesee.

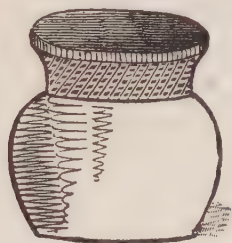
This pipe is anomalous. It is of black marble, highly polished, with the bowl and stem bored with great precision. Doubtless it is a relic of the "Mound Builders," which, having found its way into the hands of a Seneca, was finally buried by his side in the valley of the Genesee, to be again brought to



OUT-WIS-TÄ-NE, UN-DÄ-QUÄ OR SILVER BEADS

EARTHEN VESSELS

light upon the excavation of the Valley canal. Like the pipes of that era, it has the bowl in the central part of the stone. In material, also, and in finish, it is unlike, and superior to the pipes of the Iroquois.



Gā-jib', or Earthen Vessel.

Earthen pots of this description are frequently found beside the remains of the Iroquois.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ They are usually of sufficient capacity to contain from two to six quarts. On exposure to the air, after disinterment, they are apt to crumble, being usually, if not always, of the light-colored common pottery, which is less firm and coherent than the black. In these earthen vessels it was customary to deposit food for the departed, while journeying to the realm of the Great Spirit. These earthen dishes are still found in Indian burial-places, where, perhaps, they had lain for centuries; and the fragments of those which have been broken by the plough, are also mingled with the soil.

Metallic implements were unknown among them, as they had not the use of metals. Rude knives of chert were used for skinning deer, and similar purposes. For cutting trees and excavating canoes, and corn mortars, in a word, for those necessary purposes

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

for which the axe would seem to be indispensable, the Iroquois used the stone chisel, *Uh'-ga-o-gwät'-hä*. In cutting trees, fire was applied at the foot, and the chisel used to clear away the coal. By a repetition of the process, trees were felled and cut to pieces. Wooden vessels were hollowed out by the same means. Fire and the chisel were the substitutes for the axe. The chisel was usually about six inches long, three wide, and two thick; the lower end being fashioned like the edge of an axe. Stone gouges in the form of a convex chisel, were also used when a more regular concavity of the vessel was desired. Stone mortars for pounding corn, grinding mineral paint, and for pulverizing roots and barks for medicines, were also among their utensils.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Arrow-heads of chert, or flint, were so common that it is scarcely necessary to refer to them. Occasionally they are found with a twist to make the arrow revolve in its flight. It is well known that the Indian always feathered his arrow for the same purpose. It is not uncommon to find the places where these arrow-heads were manufactured, which is indicated by the fragments of chert which had been made by cleavage. In the western mounds rows of similar chert heads have been found lying side by side, like teeth, the row being about two feet long. This has suggested the idea that they were set in a frame and fastened with thongs, thus making a species of sword. Their discovery in those mounds also establishes the great antiquity of the art.

In ancient times the Iroquois used the stone tomahawk. It was fashioned something like an axe, but

MOCCASON

in place of an eye for the helve, a deep groove was cut around the outside, by means of which the handle was firmly attached with a withe or thong.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Oval stones, with grooves around their greatest circumference, were also secured in the head of war-clubs, and thus made dangerous weapons.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Other implements and utensils of stone, some of which were very ingeniously worked, were in use among the Iroquois; and also personal ornaments of the same material, but a sufficient number have been brought under notice.



O-sque'-sont, or Stone Tomahawk.

The moccason (see plates I. 35, 44, 79) is preëminently an Indian invention, and one of the highest antiquity. It is true to nature in its adjustment to the foot, beautiful in its materials and finish, and durable as an article of apparel. It will compare favorably with the best single article for the protection and adornment of the foot ever invented, either in ancient or modern times. With the sanction of fashion, it would supersede among us a long list of similar inventions. Other nations have fallen behind the Indian, in this one particular at least. The masses of the Romans wore the *calceus ligneus*, or wooden shoe; the masses of Germany and Ireland, and of many of the European nations, formerly wore the same. With the *cothurnus* and *sandal* of the ancients, and

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

the boot of the moderns, the moccason admits of no unfavorable comparison. It deserves to be classed among the highest articles of apparel ever invented, both in usefulness, durability, and beauty.

The moccason is made of one piece of deer-skin. It is seamed up at the heel, and also in front, above the foot, leaving the bottom of the moccason without a seam. In front the deer-skin is gathered, in place of being crimped; over this part porcupine quills or beads are worked, in various patterns. The plain moccason rises several inches above the ankle, like the Roman cothurnus, and is fastened with deer strings; but usually this part is turned down, so as to expose a part of the instep, and is ornamented with bead-work, as represented in the plates. A small bone near the ankle joint of the deer, has furnished the moccason needle⁽¹¹¹⁾ from time immemorial; and the sinews of the animal the thread. These bone needles are found in the mounds of the West, and beside the skeletons of the Iroquois, where they were deposited with religious care. This isolated fact would seem to indicate an affinity, in one art at least, between the Iroquois and the Mound Builders, whose name, and era of occupation and destiny are entirely lost.⁽³⁶⁾

In ancient times the Iroquois used another shoe, made of the skin of the elk. They cut the skin above and below the gambrel joint, and then took it off entire. As the hind leg of the elk inclines at this joint, nearly at a right angle, it was naturally adapted to the foot. The lower end was sewed firmly with sinew, and the upper part secured above the ankle with deer strings.

SKIN-DRESSING

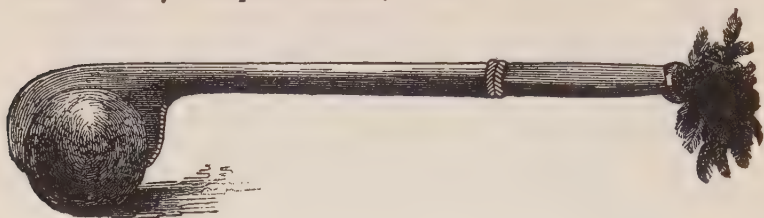
In connection with this subject is the art of tanning deer-skins; as they still tan them after the ancient method. It is done with the brain of the deer, the tanning properties of which, according to a tradition, were discovered by accident. The brain is mingled with moss, to make it adhere sufficiently to be formed into a cake, which is afterwards hung by the fire to dry. It is thus preserved for years. When the deer-skin is fresh, the hair, and also the grain of the skin are taken off, over a cylindrical beam, with a wooden blade or stone scraper. A solution is then made by boiling a cake of the brain in water, and the moss, which is of no use, being removed, the skin is soaked in it for a few hours. It is then wrung out and stretched, until it becomes dry and pliable. Should it be a thick one, it would be necessary to repeat the process until it becomes thoroughly penetrated by the solution. The skin is still porous and easily torn. To correct both, a smoke is made, and the skin placed over it in such a manner as to enclose it entirely. Each side is smoked in this way until the pores are closed, and the skin has become thoroughly toughened, with its color changed from white to a kind of brown. It is then ready for use.

They also use the brain of other animals, and sometimes the back-bone of the eel, which, pounded up and boiled, possesses nearly the same properties for tanning. Bear-skins were never tanned. They were scraped and softened, after which they were dried, and used without removing the hair, either as an article of apparel, or as a mattress to sleep upon.

Before the tomahawk came into use among the

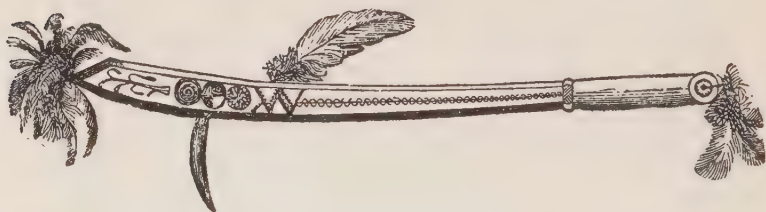
LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

Iroquois, their principal weapons were the bow, the stone tomahawk, and the war-club. The *Gä'-je'-wä* was a heavy weapon, usually made of ironwood, with



Gä'-je'-wä, or War-club.

a large ball of knot at the head. It was usually about two feet in length, and the ball five or six inches in diameter. In close combat it would prove a formidable weapon. They wore it in the belt, in front.



Ga-ne-u'-ga-o-dus-ba, or Deer-horn War-club.

This species of war-club was also much used. It was made of hard wood, elaborately carved, painted and ornamented with feathers at the ends. In the lower edge, a sharp-pointed deer's horn, about four inches in length, was inserted. It was thus rendered a dangerous weapon in close combat, and would inflict a deeper wound than the former. They wore it in the girdle. At a later period they used the same species of club, substituting a steel or iron blade

WAR-CLUB

resembling a spearhead, in the place of the horn. War-clubs of this description are still to be found among the Iroquois, preserved as relics of past exploits. It is not probable, however, that these two varieties were peculiar to them; they were doubtless common over the continent.

The tomahawk succeeded the war-club, as the rifle did the bow. With the invention of this terrible implement of warfare the red man had nothing to do, except in having it so fashioned as to be adapted to his taste and usage. The tomahawk is known as widely as the Indian, and the two names have become



O-sque'-sont, or Tomahawk.

apparently inseparable. They are made of steel, brass, or iron. The choicer articles are surmounted by a pipe-bowl, and have a perforated handle, that they may answer the double purpose of ornament and use. In such the handle, and often the blade itself, are richly inlaid with silver. It is worn in the girdle, and behind the back, except when in actual battle. They used it in close combat with terrible effect, and also threw it with unerring certainty at distant objects, making it revolve in the air in its flight. With the

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

Indian, the tomahawk is the emblem of war itself. To bury it, is peace ; to raise it, is to declare the most deadly warfare.⁽¹¹²⁾

Rope-making, from filaments of bark, is also an Indian art. The deer string answers a multitude of pur-



Ose-gā, or Skein of Slippery Elm Filaments.

poses in their domestic economy ; but it could not supply them all. Bark-rope (*Gä-a'-sken-dä*) has been fabricated among them from time immemorial. In its manufacture, they use the bark of the slippery-elm, the red-elm, and the bass-wood. Having removed the outer surface of the bark, they divide it into narrow strips,



Gus-ha'-āh, or Burden Strap.

and then boil it in ashes and water. After it is dried it is easily separated into small filaments, the strings running with the grain several feet without breaking. These filaments are then put up in skeins and laid aside for use. Slippery-elm makes the most pliable rope ; it is soft to the touch, can be closely braided, and is very durable. The burden strap is worn around the

BURDEN STRAP

forehead, and lashed to a litter, which is borne by Indian women on their back. It is usually about fifteen feet in length, and braided into a belt in the centre, three or four inches wide. Some of them are entirely covered upon one side with porcupine-quills-work, after various devices, and are in themselves remarkable products of skilful industry. The braiding⁽¹¹³⁾ or knitting of the bark threads is effected with a single needle of hickory. In other specimens, the quill-work is sprinkled over the belt for ornament, the quills in all cases being of divers colors. Of all their fabrics, there is no one, perhaps, which surpasses the porcupine-quill burden strap, in skill of manufacture, richness of material, or beauty of workmanship. In this species of work, the Iroquois female excelled. They also made a common bark rope for ordinary uses, which consisted of three strands, hard twisted; a single rope being frequently forty or fifty feet in length. The art of rope-making, like many others, has mostly fallen into disuse among the present Iroquois. But few Indian families now provide themselves with skeins of bark thread, or make any ropes of this description.

In the manufacture of the several species of burden strap, more skill, ingenuity, and patient industry are exhibited, perhaps, than in any other single article fabricated by the Iroquois. The strap consists of a belt in the centre about two feet in length by two and a half inches in width, with ropes at each end about seven feet each; thus making its entire length from fifteen to twenty feet. It is used attached to the litter or burden frame, to the baby frame, and to the basket, when these burdens are to be borne on the

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

back; in which cases the belt is passed around the forehead. Fifteen or twenty small cords are first made, about three feet in length, by twisting the filaments of bark by hand. These cords, which make the warp, or substance of the belt, are then placed parallel with each other, and side by side; after which finer threads of the same material, usually colored, are prepared for the filling, to be passed across the cords over and under each alternately from side to side and back again. The fine thread, or filling, is twisted in the first instance, and also again as it is braided or woven in with the warp while being passed across from side to side. As the work is all done by hand, it is a slow and laborious process, but the specimen will show how successfully it is accomplished. After the filling has thus been braided in with the warp, each of the main cords, although covered on both sides, literally wound with the finer threads in crossing and returning, is still distinctly visible, giving to the belt the appearance of being ribbed. The whole process is exactly the same as the modern process of weaving, the main difference consisting in this, that in the latter the warp and filling are nearly equal in the size of the threads, while in the Indian art the warp is several times larger than the filling.

Towards the ends the belt is narrowed gradually by joining two of the cords in one, until its width is diminished about one-third. The cords are then lengthened out by adding new filaments, and braided into an open-work band or bark rope about an inch wide, and flat; the band consisting of as many strands as

BURDEN STRAP

there were cords at the end of the belt. The surface of these belts is generally smooth and even, and the belt itself so closely braided as to leave no interstices through which the eye could penetrate. When threads of different colors were used, the belt was variegated simply, or small figures were woven in it for ornament.

Another species of burden strap, of more expeditious manufacture, was made by placing the warp cords side by side, and stitching them through and through with bark thread, in which case the cords themselves were made larger than in the ordinary burden strap. For stitching, a hickory or bone needle, without an eye, was used in ancient times. As the cords consisted of two strong threads twisted into one, the stitching thread was passed through each cord, between its two parts, from one side to the other and back again. Ropes were then attached to the ends of the belt, and the work was completed.

O-Ä-TA-ÖSE-KÄ, OR MOOSE HAIR BURDEN STRAP
GUS-HÄ-AH, OR DEER HAIR BURDEN STRAP•

See PLATE facing page 20

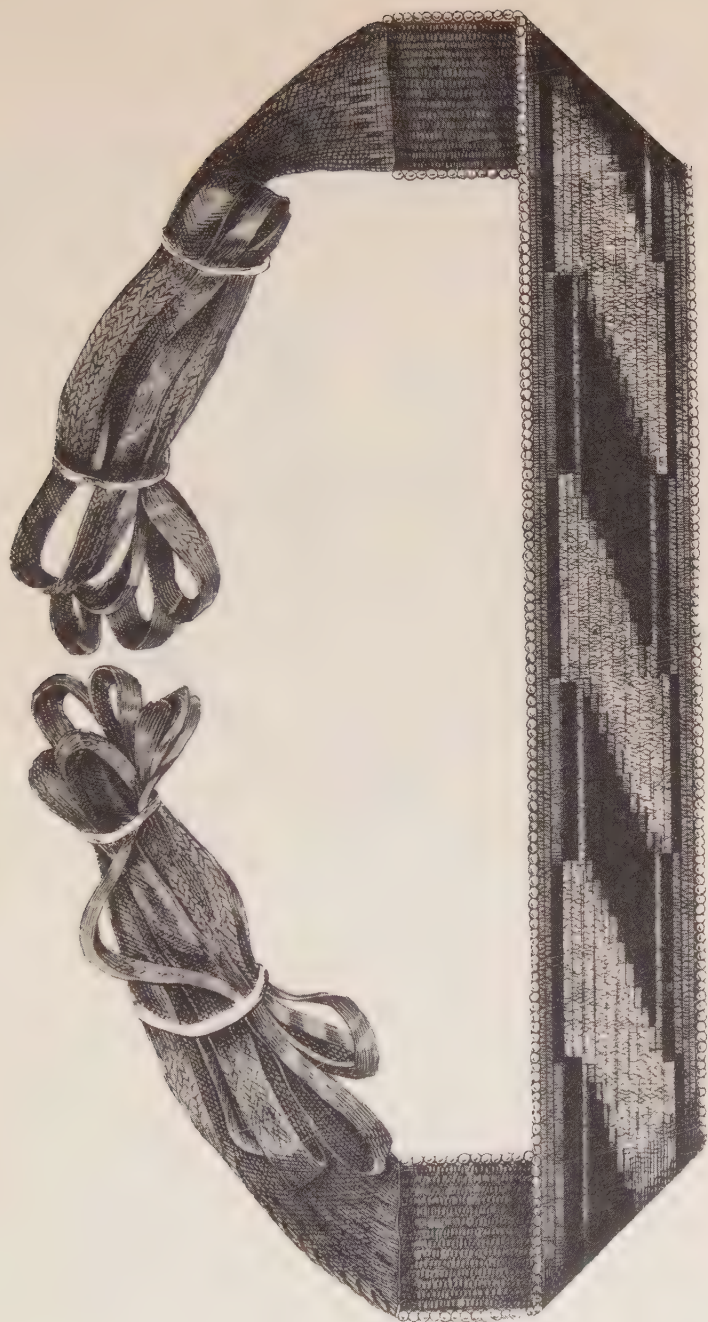
Near the rump of the moose (*Yen-dä-ne*), and near the neck between the shoulders, there are small tufts of white hair, about four inches in length, each yielding a small handful. These hairs were carefully preserved, dyed red, blue and yellow, and used in the manufacture of the finest varieties of burden straps. Similar tufts of hair, but inferior in quality, are found upon the elk (*Jo-rä-dä*), and in the tail of the deer (*Na-o-geh*). The moose hair burden strap is made

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

in all respects as above described, except that the thread, which serves as the filling, is wound with this hair upon one side of the belt, in such a way as either to cover the whole face of the belt, or to sprinkle it through with small figures at the pleasure of the maker. The one represented in the plate is a very perfect and beautiful piece of work, nearly the whole upper surface of the belt being covered with moose hair, white, yellow, red and blue, which is woven into the belt in a regular figure. It was made by an Onondaga woman on Grand river in Upper Canada, where it was purchased in October last. Although it has been used many years, and the colors have lost some portion of their original brilliancy, it is yet wholly unimpaired, and a remarkable specimen of finger weaving, as well as of artisan skill. It is not only woven compactly, but with such evenness of thread as to present a smooth surface and uniform texture. It is difficult to believe, upon an examination of the under side of the belt, that it is manufactured with bark threads; and perhaps still more incredible, that in the mechanism of this belt can be found the primary elements of the art of weaving.

GÄ-NE-KO-WÄ-AH, BURDEN FRAME, OR LITTER

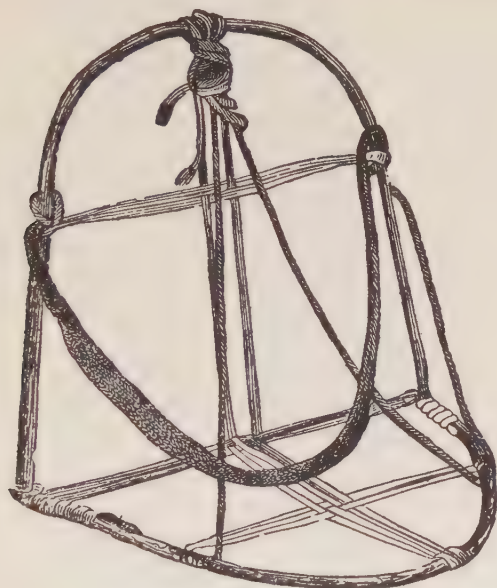
This is an ancient contrivance to assist in carrying burdens. Game, cooking utensils, wood, bark, in fact, everything which could be transported by hand could be borne upon this frame. They were a necessary appendage to every house, to the traveller, and to the hunter. Sometimes they were elaborately carved



O-Ä-TA-ÖSE-KÄ OR MOOSE HAIR BURDEN STRAP.

BURDEN FRAME OR LITTER

and finished, but more frequently were of a plain piece of hickory, like the one represented in the figure, and made with the quickest despatch. The frame consists of two bows of hickory, brought to-



Gä-ne-ko-wā-ab, Burden Frame, or Litter.

gether at right angles, and fastened to each other by means of an eye and head. The upright part of the frame is the same as the horizontal in all particulars, except its greater length. Strips from the inner rind of basswood bark were then passed between the bows both length and crosswise, and fastened to the rim pieces. A burden strap was then attached to the frame at the point where the strip of bark passed across the upright bow from side to side; and from

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

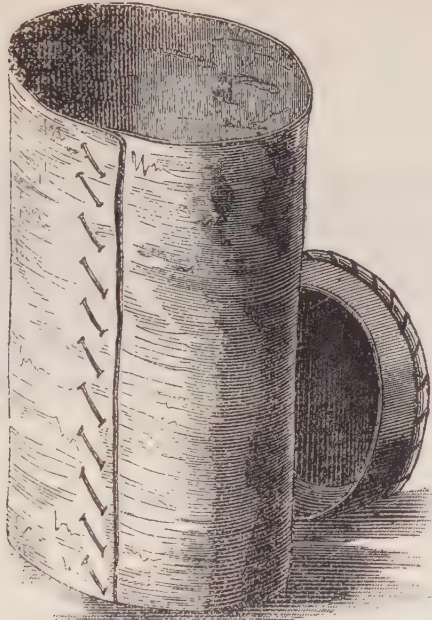
thence it passed diagonally across to the horizontal part of the frame, to the point where the lower strip of bark crossed that part of the frame. There were several feet of rope at each end, reserved to lash around whatever burden was placed upon the frame; but when the frame was empty, as it is shown above, these ropes were passed up to the top of the frame and there secured. After being loaded the frame was placed upon the back, and the burden strap passed over the head and placed across the chest. If the burden was very heavy it was customary to use two straps, one across the chest, and the other against the forehead. At the present day the burden frame is still in use.

Bark vessels and dishes of various kinds were in common use among them. The bark barrel, *Gä-no'-quă*, was of the number.⁽¹²⁴⁾ It was made of the inner rind of red-elm bark, or of black-ash bark, the grain running around the barrel. Up the side it was stitched firmly, and had a bottom and a lid secured in the same manner. Such barrels were used to store charred corn, beans, dried fruit, seeds, and a great variety of articles.

When corn was buried in pits or caches, it was usually put in bark barrels of this description. During the war of 1812, when the British forces were expected over the frontier, the Senecas at Tonawanda, who had enlisted in the American army, buried their corn in bark barrels, after the ancient custom. These barrels were made of all sizes, from those of sufficient capacity to hold three bushels, to those large enough for a peck. Such barrels were found in every family in

BARK VESSELS

ancient times, and among other purposes to which they were devoted, they were made repositories for articles of apparel and personal ornaments. They



Gā-snā Gā-ose-bǎ, or Bark Barrel.

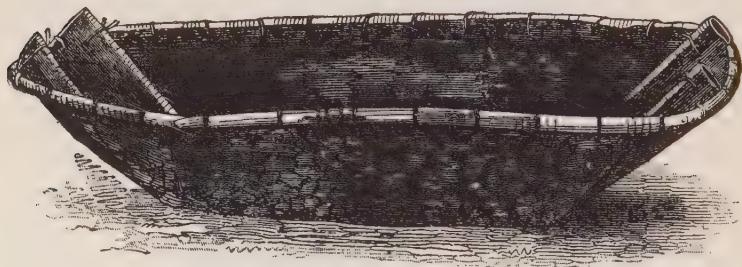
were very durable, and when properly taken care of would last a hundred years.

GÄ-O-WO', OR BARK TRAY

Trays of this description are found in every Indian family. They serve a variety of purposes, but are chiefly used for kneading, or rather preparing corn bread. A strip of elm-bark, of the requisite dimensions, was rounded and gathered up at the ends, so as

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

to form a shallow concavity. Around the rim, both outside and in, splints of hickory were adjusted, and stitched through and through with the bark. These trays were of all sizes, from those of sufficient capacity to contain one, to those large enough for ten pecks. The rough bark was removed from the outside, and the vessel within became smooth with usage. They



Gā-wo-ō', or Bark Tray.

made durable and convenient articles for holding corn meal, for preparing corn bread, and for many other purposes.

Trapping game of all kinds, from the bear and deer to the quail and snipe, was a common practice. For deer, a young tree was bent over and held in this position by the mechanism of the trap. When sprung a noose was fastened around the hind leg of the deer, and he was drawn up in the air by the unsprung tree. Bear traps were constructed in such a way as to let down a heavy timber upon the back of the animal, when sprung, and thus pin him to the earth. Nets of bark twine were also spread for pigeons and quails. A simple bird trap for small birds consists of a rounding strip of elm bark about eight inches long by

BARK CANOE

four wide, with an eye cut in one end and a piece of bark twine with a noose at the end of it, attached to the other. After the bark is secured upon the ground, a few kernels of corn are dropped through the eye upon the ground, and a noose adjusted around it. When a bird attempts to pick up the corn the ruffled plumage of the neck takes up the string, and brings



Bird Trap.

the noose around the neck, which is tightened the moment the bird attempts to fly, and either strangles or holds it in captivity. The trap is said to be very successful.

GA-SNÄ' GÄ-O-WO', OR BARK CANOE

In the construction of the bark canoe, the Iroquois exercised considerable taste and skill. The art appears to have been common to all the Indian races within the limits of the republic, and the mode of construction much the same. Birch bark was the best material; but as the canoe birch did not grow within the home territories of the Iroquois, they generally used the red-elm, and bitternut-hickory. The canoe figured in the plate (II. 3), is made of the bark of the red-elm, and consists of but one piece. Having taken

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

off a bark of the requisite length and width, and removed the rough outside, it was shaped in the canoe form. Rim pieces of white-ash, or other elastic wood, of the width of the hand, were then run around the edge, outside and in, and stitched through and through with the bark itself. In stitching, they used bark thread or twine, and splints. The ribs consisted of narrow strips of ash, which were set about a foot apart along the bottom of the canoe, and having been turned up the sides, were secured under the rim. Each end of the canoe was fashioned alike, the two side pieces inclining towards each other until they united, and formed a sharp and vertical prow. In size, these canoes varied from twelve feet, with sufficient capacity to carry two men, to forty feet with sufficient capacity for thirty. The one figured in the plate is about twenty-five feet in length, and its tonnage estimated at two tons, about half that of the ordinary bateau. Birch bark retained its place without warping, but the elm and hickory bark canoes were exposed to this objection. After being used, they were drawn out of the water to dry. One of the chief advantages of these canoes, especially the birch bark, was their extreme lightness, which often became a matter of some moment from the flood wood and water-falls, which obstructed the navigation of the inland rivers. Two men could easily transport these light vessels around these obstacles, and even from one river to another when the portage was not long.

For short excursions one person usually paddled the canoe, standing up in the stern; if more than two, and on a long expedition, they were seated at equal distances upon each side alternately. In the fur trade these

S A P-T U B

canoes were extensively used. They coasted lakes Erie and Ontario, and turning up the Oswego river into the Oneida lake, they went from thence over the carrying place into the Mohawk, which they descended to Schenectady. They would usually carry about twelve hundred pounds of fur. At the period of the invasions of the Iroquois territories by the French, large fleets of these canoes were formed for the conveyance of troops and provisions. With careful usage they would last several years.



Gä-o-wot', or Bark Sap-tub.

Our Indian population have been long in the habit of manufacturing sugar from the maple. Whether they learned the art from us, or we received it from them, is uncertain.⁽⁸⁷⁾ One evidence, at least, of its antiquity among them, is to be found in one of their ancient religious festivals, instituted to the maple, and called the Maple dance. The sap-tub is a very neat contrivance, and surpasses all other articles of this description. Our farmers may safely borrow, in this one particular, and with profit substitute this Indian invention for the rough and wasteful one of their own contrivance.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

A strip of bark about three feet in length by two in width, makes the tub. The rough bark is left upon the bottom and sides. At the point where the bark is to be turned up to form the ends, the outer bark is removed; the inner rind is then turned up, gathered together in small folds at the top, and tied around with a splint. It is then ready for use, and will last several seasons. Aside from the natural fact that the sap would be quite at home in the bark tub, and its flavor preserved untainted, it is more durable and capacious than the wooden one, and more readily made.

The Senecas use three varieties of corn: the White (*O-na-o'-ga-ant*), the Red (*Tic'-ne*), and the White Flint (*Ha-go'-wä*). Corn is, and always has been, their staple article of food. When ready to be harvested, they pick the ears, strip down the husks, and braid them together in bunches, with about twenty ears in each. They are then hung up ready for use. The white flint ripens first, and is the favorite corn for homonymy; the red next, and is used principally for charring and drying; the white last, and is the corn most esteemed by the Indians. It is used for bread, and supplies the same place with them that wheat does with us. They shell their corn by hand, and pound it into flour in wooden mortars. In two hours from the time the corn is taken from the ear it is ready to eat, in the form of unleavened bread.⁽⁸⁾ It is hulled in the first instance, by boiling in ashes and water; after the skin is thus removed from each kernel, it is thoroughly washed, and pounded into flour or meal in a mortar, of which a representation will be found above. Having been passed through a sieve basket, to remove the

CORN MORTAR

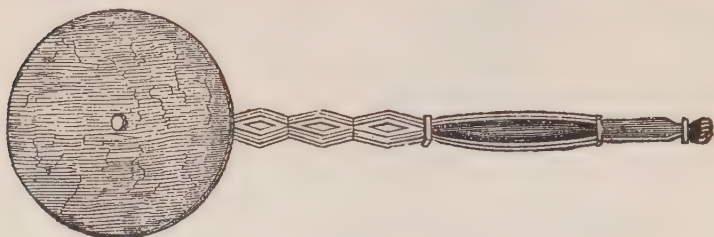


Gā-ne'-gā-tā, or Corn Mortar.

Mortar, 2 feet in diameter. Pounder, 4 feet in length.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

chit and coarser grains, it is made into loaves or cakes about an inch in thickness, and six inches in diameter; which are cooked by boiling them in water. The



Ya-ă-go-gen-tă-quā, or Bread Turner.

$\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

bread turner is used, as its name indicates, to handle these loaves while under the process of cooking. Upon bread of this description, and upon the fruits of the chase, the Indian has principally subsisted from time immemorial.⁽⁸⁴⁾

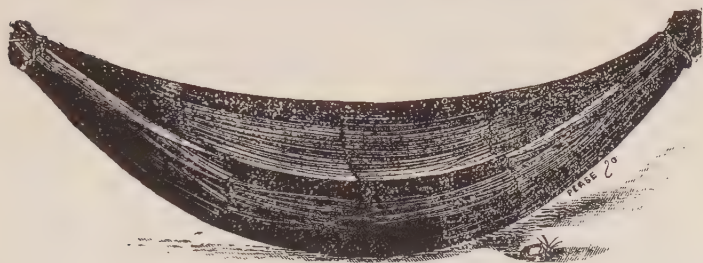
The practice of charring corn is of great antiquity among the red races. In this condition it is preserved for years without injury. Caches or pits of charred corn have been found in various parts of the country. The Iroquois were in the habit of charring corn to preserve it for domestic use. The Senecas still do the same. For this use the red corn is preferred. When green the corn is picked, and roasted in the field before a long fire, the ears being set up on end in a row. It is not charred or blackened entirely, but roasted sufficiently to dry up the moisture in each kernel. It is then shelled and dried in the sun. The splint sieve represented in the figure was used to sift out the fine ashes which might adhere to the kernel. In this state the corn is chiefly used by hunting parties, and for sub-



YA-WA-O-DÄ-QUA OR NEEDLE BOOK

POP-CORN SIEVE

sistence on distant excursions. Its bulk and weight having been diminished about half by the two processes, its transportation became less burdensome. The



Yun-des-bo-yon-dā-gwat-hā, or Pop-corn Sieve.

red races seldom formed magazines of grain to guard against distant wants. It is probable, therefore, that these pits of charred corn owe their origin to the sudden flight of the inhabitants, who buried their dried corn because they could not remove it, rather than to a desire to provide against a failure of the harvest.

There was another method of curing corn in its green state, quite as prevalent as the former. The corn was shaved off into small particles, and having been baked over the fire in pans or earthen dishes, it was then dried in the sun. In this condition it was preserved for winter use.

A favorite article of subsistence was prepared from the charred corn. It was parched a second time, after which, having been mixed with about a third part of maple sugar, it was pounded into a fine flour. This was carried in the bear-skin pocket of the hunter, and upon it alone he subsisted for days together.

This noble grain, one of the gifts of the Indian to

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

the world, is destined, eventually, to become one of the staple articles of human consumption. More than half of our republic lies within the embrace of the tributaries of the Mississippi. Upon their banks are the corn-growing districts of the country; and there, also, at no distant day, will be seated the millions of our race. Experience demonstrates that no people can rely wholly upon exchanges for the substance of their bread-stuffs, but that they must look chiefly to the soil they cultivate. This law of production and consumption is destined to introduce the gradual use of corn flour, as a partial substitute at least, for its superior rival, in those districts where it is the natural product of the soil. In the southern portions of our country this principle is already attested, by the fact that corn bread enters as largely into human consumption as wheaten. Next to wheat, this grain, perhaps, contains the largest amount of nutriment. It is the cheapest and surest of all the grains to cultivate; and is, also, the cheapest article of subsistence known among men. Although wheat can be cultivated in nearly all the sections of the country; although its production can be increased to an unlimited degree by a higher agriculture; we have yet great reason to be thankful for this secondary grain, whose reproductive energy is so unmeasured as to secure our entire race, through all coming time, against the dangers of scarcity, or the pressure of want.⁽⁸⁵⁾

O-YEH'-GWÄ-Ä-WEH, OR INDIAN TOBACCO

Tobacco is another gift of the Indian to the world; but a gift, it must be admitted, of questionable utility.

TOBACCO

We call both corn and tobacco the legacy of the red man; as these indigenous plants, but for his nurture and culture through so many ages, might have perished, like other varieties of the fruits of the earth. Many of our choicest fruits owe their origin to vegetable combinations entirely fortuitous. They spring up spontaneously, flourish for a season, and become extinct, but for the watchful care of man. Nature literally pours forth her vegetable wealth, and buries beneath her advancing exuberance the products of the past. But few of the fruits and plants and flowers of the ancient world have come down to us unchanged; and still other plants, perhaps, have perished, unknown, in the openings of the forest, which contained within their shrivelled and stunted foliage the germ of some fruit, or grain, or plant, which might have nourished or clothed the whole human family. We may therefore, perchance, owe a debt to the Indian, in these particulars, beyond our utmost acknowledgments.⁽⁹³⁾

The Senecas still cultivate tobacco. Its name signifies "*The only Tobacco*," because they considered this variety superior to all others. It is raised from the seed, which is sown or planted in the spring, and requires but little cultivation. The leaves are picked early in the fall, when their color first changes with the frost, and when dried are ready for use. After the first year it grows spontaneously, from the seed shed by the plant when fully ripened. If the plants become too thick, which is frequently the case, from their vigorous growth, it becomes necessary to thin them out, as the leaves diminish in size with their in-

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

crease in number. This tobacco is used exclusively for smoking. The custom of chewing the article appears to have been derived from us. Although this tobacco is exceedingly mild, they mingle with it the leaves of the sumac, to diminish its stimulating properties.⁽⁹²⁾ The sumac has been used by the Indian to temper tobacco from time immemorial.

Several varieties of the bean and of the squash⁽⁹¹⁾ were also cultivated by the Iroquois, and were indigenous in the American soil. They regarded the corn, the bean, and the squash as the special gift of the Great Spirit, and associated them together under the name of the Three Sisters. They also used the ground-nut (*apios tuberosa*), as a species of potato, gathering it in its wild state.

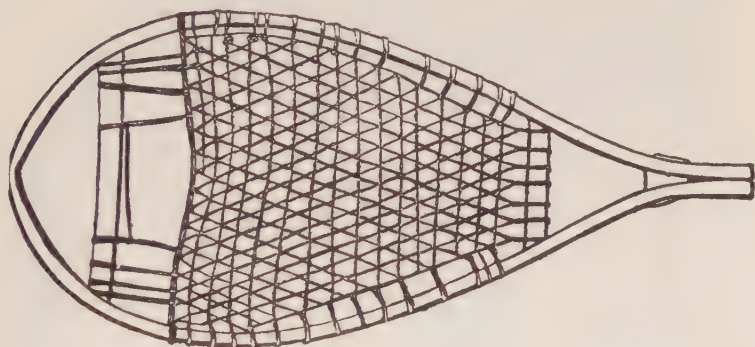
The snow-shoe is an Indian invention. Upon the deep snows which accumulate in the forest, it would be nearly impossible to travel without them. They were used in the hunt, and in warlike expeditions undertaken in the season of winter.

GA-WEH'-GÄ, OR SNOW-SHOE

The snow-shoe is nearly three feet in length, by about sixteen inches in width. A rim of hickory, bent round with an arching front, and brought to a point at the heel, constituted the frame, with the addition of cross pieces to determine its spread. Within the area, with the exception of an opening for the toe, was woven a net-work of deer strings, with interstices about an inch square. The ball of the foot was lashed at the edge of this opening with thongs,

SNOW-SHOE

which passed around the heel for the support of the foot. The heel was left free to work up and down, and the opening was designed to allow the toe of the foot to descend below the surface of the shoe, as the heel is raised in the act of walking. It is a very simple invention, but exactly adapted for its uses. A person familiar with the snow-shoe can walk as rapidly



Ga-web'-gä, or Snow-shoe.
2 feet 10 inches.

upon the snow as without it upon the ground. The Senecas affirm that they can walk fifty miles per day upon the snow-shoe, and with much greater rapidity than without it, in consequence of the length and uniformity of the step. In the bear-hunt, especially, it is of the greatest service, as the hunter can speedily overtake the bear, who, breaking through the crust, is enabled to move but slowly.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

AH-DÄ-DÄ'-QUÄ, OR INDIAN SADDLE

This is an Indian invention, but came originally from the west. It closely resembles the saddle of the

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

native Mexicans in its general plan, but its pommel is not as high, and its side-pieces are longer. It is



still used among the Indian tribes of the west. The frame is made of four pieces of wood, firmly set together, over which is a covering of raw hide. The side-pieces are about eighteen inches in length, six in width, and about an inch in thickness, at the centre, but terminating in a sharp edge above and below. In front the pommel rises about five inches above the side-pieces. It is made of a stick having a natural

AIR-GUN

fork, which is so adjusted as to embrace the side-pieces, and determine the spread of the saddle. Another piece, in the same manner, embraced the side-pieces at the opposite end, rising several inches above, and descending nearly to their lower edges. These side-pieces at the top are about three inches apart, leaving a space for the back-bone of the horse. The fastenings of the saddle, including those of the stirrup, were originally of ropes, made of buffalo's hair. Triangular stirrups of wood completed the trappings of the saddle. As the Iroquois seldom made use of the Indian horse, the saddle with them was rather an accidental, than a usual article. The specimen above represented is of Seneca manufacture.



Gā-ga-an-dā, or Air-gun; and Gā-no', or Arrow.

Air-gun, 6 feet. Arrow, 2 feet.

The air-gun is claimed as an Indian invention.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ It is a simple tube or barrel, about six feet in length, and an inch in diameter, and having a half-inch bore. It is made of alder, and also of other wood, which is bored by some artificial contrivance. A very slender arrow, about two feet in length, with a sharp point, is the missile. Upon the foot of the arrow, the down or floss of the thistle is fastened on entire, with sinew. This down is soft and yielding, and when the arrow is placed in the barrel, fills it airtight. The arrow is then discharged by blowing. It is used for bird-shooting.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS



Yā-o'-dā-was-tā, or Indian Flute.

1 ½ feet.

This instrument is unlike any known among us, but it clearly resembles the clarionet. Its name signifies “a blow pipe.” It is usually made of red cedar, is about eighteen inches in length, and above an inch in diameter. The finger holes, six in number, are equidistant. Between them and the mouth-piece, which is at the end, is the whistle, contrived much upon the same principle as the common whistle. It makes six consecutive notes, from the lowest, on a rising scale. The seventh note is wanting, but the three or four next above are regularly made. This is the whole compass of the instrument. As played by the Indians it affords a species of wild and plaintive music. It is claimed as an Indian invention.



Yun-gā-sa, or Tobacco Pouch.

The tobacco pouch is made of the skin of some small animal, which is taken off entire. It was anciently an indispensable article, and was worn in the girdle. They were usually made of white weasel, mink, squirrel, and fisher skin.

Bags or pockets of this description, made of the

FIRE DRILL

skins of animals, were in constant use among the Iroquois in ancient times. They were hung to the girdle of the warrior and the hunter, and would contain



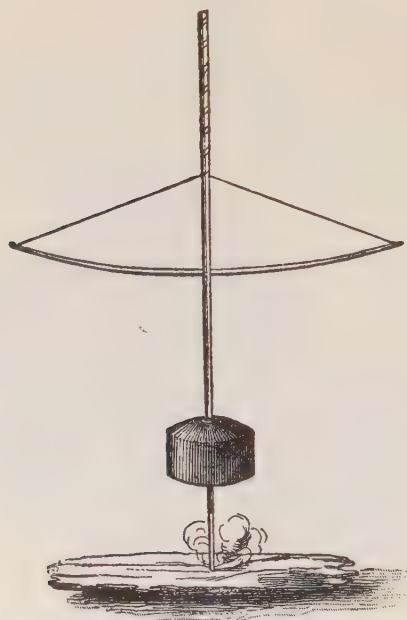
Gis-tāt-be-o Gā-yā-ab, or Fawn Skin Bag.

within their narrow folds sufficient subsistence for a long expedition, thus answering very perfectly the purposes of the knapsack. At home they were used as repositories for the safe keeping of choice articles.

The *Da-ya-yä-dä-gä'-neä-tä* is an Indian invention, of great antiquity. Its rudeness may excite a smile, in this day of lucifer matches, but yet the step backward to the steel and flint is about the same, as from the latter to the contrivance in question.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Not knowing the

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

use of metals or of chemicals, it was the only method of creating fire known to the red man. It consisted of an upright shaft, about four feet in length, and an

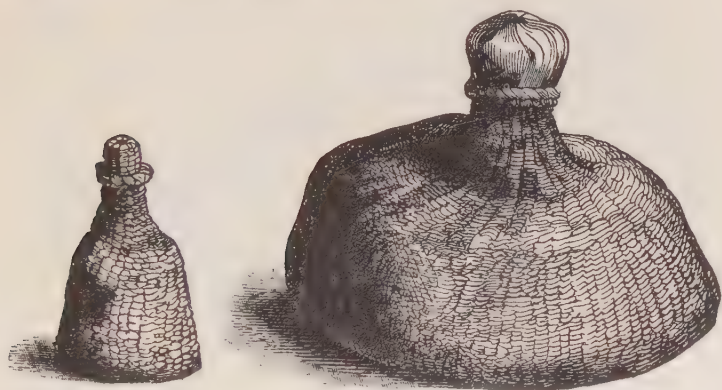


Da-ya-yä-dä-gä'-neä-tä.

inch in diameter, with a small wheel set upon the lower part, to give it momentum. In a notch at the top of the shaft was set a string, attached to a bow about three feet in length. The lower point rested upon a block of dry wood, near which are placed small pieces of punk. When ready to use, the string is first coiled around the shaft, by turning it with the hand. The bow is then pulled downwards, thus uncoiling the string, and revolving the shaft towards the

INVENTIONS

left. By the momentum given to the wheel, the string is again coiled up in a reverse manner, and the bow again drawn up. The bow is again pulled downwards, and the revolution of the shaft reversed, uncoiling the string, and recoiling it as before. This alternate revolution of the shaft is continued, until sparks are emitted from the point where it rests upon the piece of dry wood below. Sparks are produced in a few moments by the intensity of the friction, and ignite the punk, which speedily furnishes a fire.

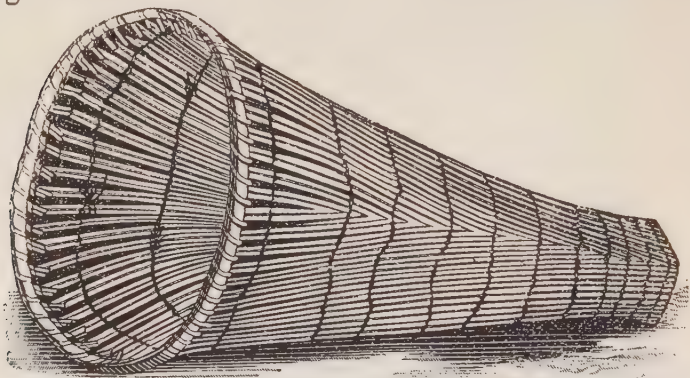


O-no-neä Gos-ba'-dä, or Corn-husk Salt Bottle.

In the art of basket-work, in all its varieties, the Indian women also excel. Their baskets are made with a neatness, ingenuity, and simplicity which deserve the highest praise. Splint is the chief material, but they likewise use a species of flag, and also corn-husks. Among these various patterns, which are as diversified as convenience or ingenuity could suggest, the most perfectly finished is the sieve basket. It is designed for sifting corn meal to remove the chit, and

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

coarser particles, after the corn has been pounded into flour. The bottom of the basket is wove in such fine checks as to answer very perfectly all the ends of the wire sieve. Another variety of open basket was made of corn-husks and flags, very closely and ingeniously braided. In their domestic economy, the basket answered a multitude of purposes. Bottles for salt were made of corn-husks in the forms represented in the figures.



Yont-kä-do-quä, or Basket Fish Net.

3 feet.

The basket net was made of splint in a conical form, about three feet in length, fifteen inches in diameter at the mouth, and six at the small end. In using it, the fisherman stood in the rapids of the creek or river, where the water rippled over the stony bottom, and with a stick or rod managed to direct the fish into the partly submerged basket, as they attempted to shoot down the rapid. When one was heard to flutter in the basket, it was at once raised from the water, and the fish was found secure within

BASKET-MAKING

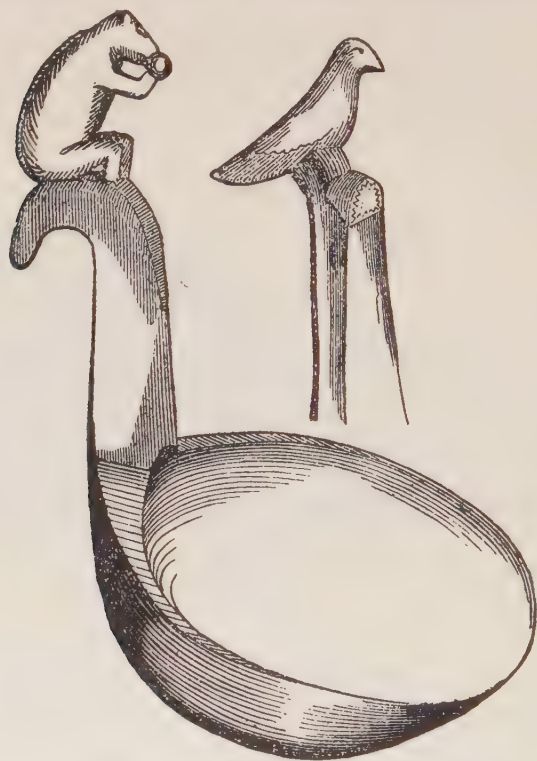
it. In those forest days, when fish abounded in every stream, it was an easy matter thus to capture them in large numbers.

Black-ash furnishes the only splint used by the Iroquois, and perhaps the same may be said of all other Indians. They choose a tree about a foot in diameter and free from limbs, after which they cut off a stick about six feet in length. After removing the bark they pound the stick with some heavy implement to start the splints, which can thus be made to run off with the utmost regularity and uniformity of thickness. This process is continued until the log is stripped down to the heart. These splints, which are about three inches wide and an eighth of an inch thick, are afterwards subdivided both ways until reduced to the required width and thickness. When resplit into thinner strips the splints have a white and smooth surface. If the baskets are to be variegated, the splints are dyed upon one side before they are woven, and are also moistened to make them pliable before they are used. The patient industry of the Indian female while engaged in this manual labor, and her skill and taste are alike exemplified in this interesting manufacture.

Their wooden implements were often elaborately carved. Those upon which the most labor was expended were the ladles, *Ah-do-quä'-să*, of various sizes, used for eating hommony and soup. They were their substitute for the spoon, and hence every Indian family was supplied with a number. The end of the handle was usually surmounted with the figure of an animal, as a squirrel, a hawk, or a beaver, some of them

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

with a human figure in a sitting posture, others with a group of such figures in various attitudes, as those of wrestling or embracing. These figures are carved with considerable skill and correctness of proportion.

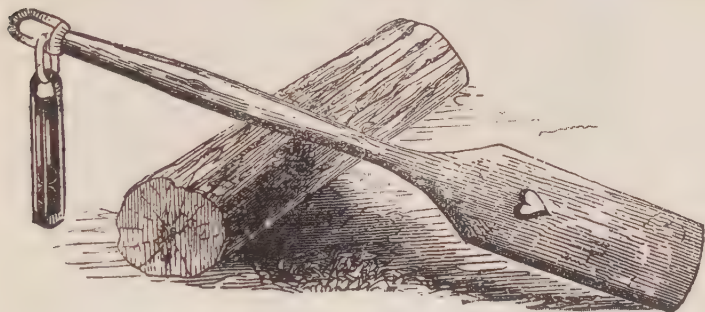


Ab-do-quä-să, or Ladle.

Upon the hommony-stirrer, *Got'-go-ne-os-hă'*, an article used in every Indian household for making hommony, succotash or soup and for many other purposes, similar ornaments were bestowed. It is usually from three to four feet in length, and made of hard maple,

WOODEN UTENSILS

or other tough wood, in the general form of the one represented in the figure. This hommony blade is made out of one piece of wood, although the end piece is attached to the blade by a link. In the end piece are two wooden balls, also cut out of the solid



Got'-go-ne-os-bă', or Hommony Blade.

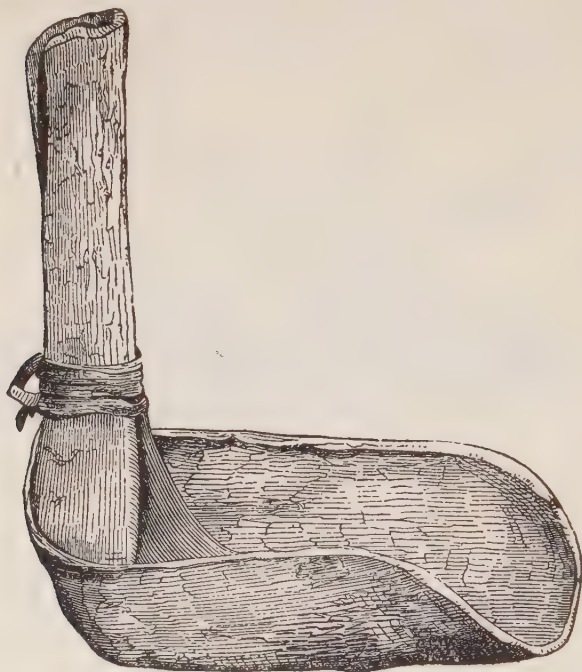
4 feet.

wood within the frame in which they are confined. For a wooden utensil it is beautifully made. Bowls, pitchers and other vessels of knot are common in Indian families, and are worked out with great labor and care. In ancient times the aged and infirm were wont to assist themselves in walking with a simple staff, but in 'later times the cane, *Ah-dä'-dis-hă*, has been substituted. Like their other utensils of wood, the modern cane is elaborately carved.

The original ladle was of bark and a very simple contrivance, as will appear from the representation. It was made of red elm bark, and would hold but little more than the common spoon. In ancient times ladles of this description only were used ; but they were laid aside when the possession of metallic im-

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

plements enabled them to substitute the present one of wood. The ladle is, without doubt, an original Indian



Bark Ladle.

utensil, and in all probability the origin of the common wooden ladle still in general use among our own people.

GÄ-KÄ'-AH, OR SKIRT

See PLATE, I. 122

The modern female costume of the Iroquois is both striking and graceful. Some of them would excite admiration by the exactness of their adjustment and the delicacy, even brilliancy of their bead-work em-

COSTUMES

broidery. They use, to this day, the same articles of apparel in form and fashion, as in ancient times, but they have substituted materials of foreign manufacture.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The porcupine quill has given place to the bead, and the skins of animals to the cotton fabric and the broadcloth. Much taste is exhibited in the bead-work, which is so conspicuous in the female costume. The colors are blended harmoniously, and the patterns are ingeniously devised and skilfully executed. It is sufficiently evident, from the specimens of their handiwork, that the Indian female can be taught to excel with the needle. The *Gä-kä'-ah*, or Skirt, of one of which the plate (I. 222) is an accurate copy, is usually of blue broadcloth, and elaborately embroidered with bead-work. It requires two yards of cloth, which is worn with the selvedge at the top and bottom; the skirt being secured about the waist, and descending nearly to the moccason. Around the lower edge, and part way up the centre in front, it is tastefully and beautifully embroidered. In one of the angles a figure is worked representing a tree or flower. The cloth skirt is universally worn among the present Iroquois, but they are not usually as richly embroidered, or of as fine material as the one represented in the plate. This is of Seneca workmanship, and is a rare specimen of Indian needlework.

The skirt shown in this plate (II. 47) is without question the finest specimen of Indian bead-work ever exhibited. Next to the article itself the plate will furnish the best description. It was made by Miss Caroline G. Parker (*Gā-hā'-no*), a Seneca Indian girl, now being educated in the State Normal School, to

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

whose finished taste and patient industry the State is indebted for most of the many beautiful specimens of bead-work embroidery now in the Indian collection.⁽¹⁴⁾

In doing this work, the eye and the taste are the chief reliances, as they use no patterns except as they may have seen them in the works of others. In combining colors certain general rules, the result of experience and observation are followed, but beyond them each one pursues her own fancy. They never seek for strong contrasts, but break the force of them by interposing white, that the colors may blend harmoniously. Thus light blue and pink beads, with white beads between them, is a favorable combination; dark blue and yellow, with white between, is another; red and light blue, with white between, is another; and light purple and dark purple, with white between, is a fourth. Others might be added were it necessary. If this bead-work is critically examined it will be found that these general rules are strictly observed; and in so far bead-work embroidery may be called a systematic art. The art of flowering, as they term it, is the most difficult part of bead-work, as it requires an accurate knowledge of the appearance of the flower, and the structure and condition of the plant at the stage in which it is represented. These imitations are frequently made with great delicacy, of which a very favorable exhibition may be seen in the plate, in the flower introduced at the angle of the skirt.



GÄ-KÄ-AH OR SKIRT

COSTUMES

GISE'-HĀ, OR PANTALETTE

See PLATE, I. 274

This article of female apparel is also universally worn. It is usually made of red broadcloth, and ornamented with a border of bead-work around the lower edge, and also part way up the side at the point which becomes the front of the pantalette. It is secured above the knee, and falls down upon the moccason. In ancient times the *Gisé'-hā* was made of deer-skin and embroidered with porcupine-quill work. As the moccason is elsewhere described, nothing further need be said in relation to it as a part of the female costume.

AH-DE-A'-DA-WE-SA, OR OVER-DRESS

See PLATES, I. 190, 191

The over-dress is usually of muslin or calico of the highest colors. It is loosely adjusted to the person, gathered slightly at the waist, and falls part way down the skirt. Around the lower edge is a narrow border of bead-work. In front it is generally buttoned with silver broaches, arranged as represented in the plate. They are usually larger in size, and arranged in parallel rows, as represented in the female costume in the frontispiece. The Indian female delights in a profusion of silver ornaments, consisting of silver broaches of various patterns and sizes, from those which are six inches in diameter, and worth as many dollars, down to those of the smallest size, valued at a sixpence. Silver ear-rings and finger-rings of various designs, silver beads, hat bands and crosses, are also found in

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

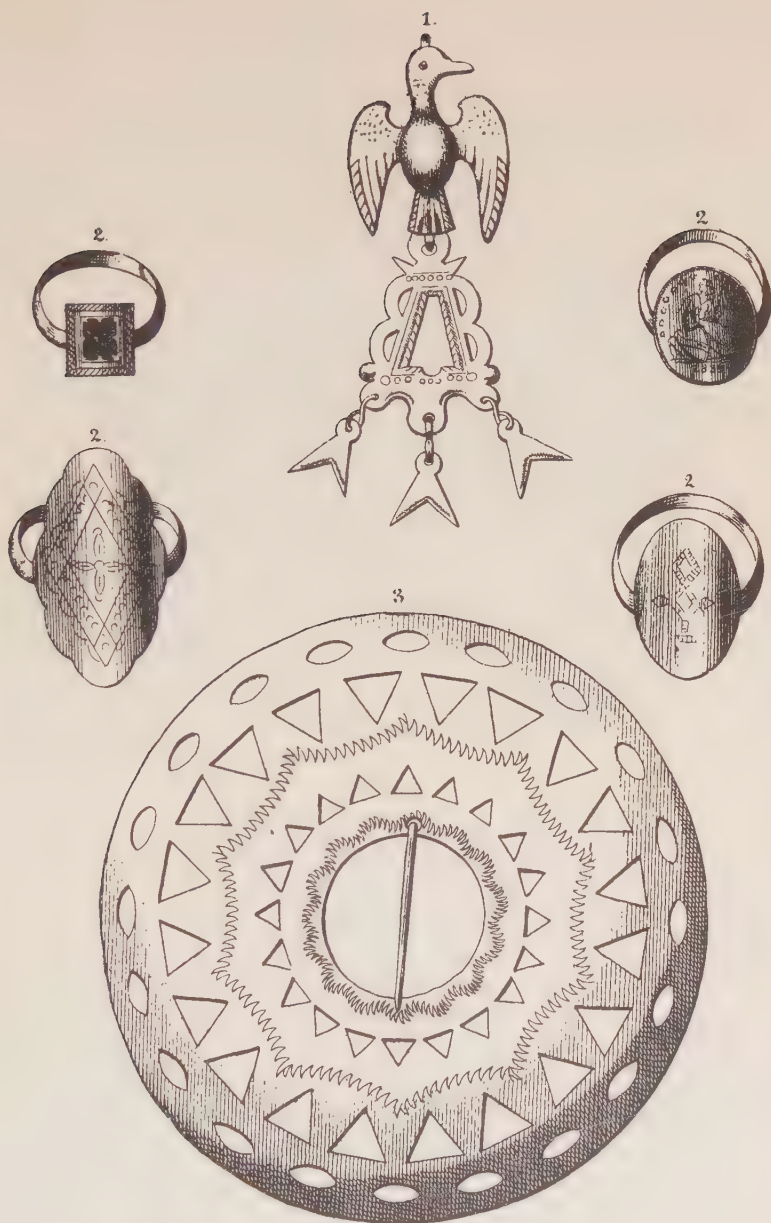
their paraphernalia. These crosses, relics of Jesuit influence, are frequently eight inches in length, of solid silver, and very valuable, but they are looked upon by them simply in the light of ornaments.

Finger and ear rings of the same material, specimens of which may be seen in the plate (II. 50), were also very common. The most of these silver ornaments in later years have been made by Indian silversmiths, one of whom may be found in nearly every Indian village. They are either made of brass, of silver, or from silver coins pounded out, and then cut into patterns with metallic instruments. The ear rings figured in the plate were made out of bar silver, by an Onondaga silversmith on Grand river, under the direction of the writer.

E'-YOSE, OR BLANKET

This indispensable and graceful garment is of blue or green broadcloth, of which it requires two yards. It falls from the head or neck in natural folds the width of the cloth, as the selvedges are at the top and bottom, and it is gathered round the person like a shawl. It is worn very gracefully by the Indian female, and makes a becoming article of apparel.

By some singular impulse of fancy, the fur hat has been appropriated by the women as a part of the female costume, until among the modern Iroquois it is more common to see this part of the white man's apparel upon the head of the Indian female than upon that of the warrior. Hat bands of silver, or of broaches strung together, or of long silver beads, are indispensable ornaments on public occasions. Sometimes, but rarely, clusters of feathers are attached to the hat.



1. AH-WAS-HA OR SILVER EAR RING
 2. AH-NE-A-HUS-HA SILVER FINGER RINGS
 3. AN-NE-ÄS-GA OR SILVER BROACH

COSTUMES

GÄ'-TE-AS-HÄ', OR NECKLACE

See PLATE, I. 254

The necklace is made of silver and wampum beads, and has a silver cross suspended. The beads usually worn by Indian women are of common glass. In ancient times it was customary to wear necklaces of the teeth of animals, but such barbarous ornaments were long since repudiated by the Iroquois. A species of shoulder ornament in the nature of a necklace made of a fragrant marsh grass, called by the Senecas *Gä-a-o'-tä-ges*, is very generally worn. Several strands or cords are braided from this grass, of the requisite length, and tied into one string. At intervals of three or four inches, small round discs, made of the same material, sometimes covered upon the upper face with bead-work, are attached. It thus makes a conspicuous ornament, and emits an agreeable odor, furnishing a substitute for perfumery.

GÄ-SWEH-TÄ OTE-KO-Ä, OR BELT OF WAMPUM

FIGURE 1

OTE-KO-Ä, OR STRING OF WAMPUM

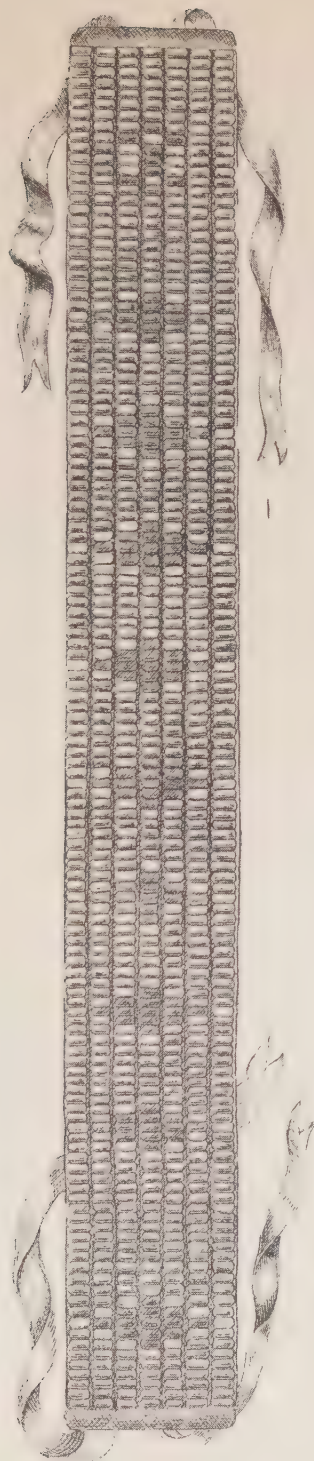
See PLATE, II. 52, FIGURE 2

The use of wampum reaches back to a remote period upon this continent. It was an original Indian notion which prevailed among the Iroquois as early, at least, as the formation of the League. The primitive wampum of the Iroquois consisted of strings of a small fresh water spiral shell, called in the Seneca dialect *Ote-ko-ä*, the name of which has been bestowed upon the modern wampum. When

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

Da-gä-no-we'-dä, the founder of the League, had perfected its organic provisions, he produced several strings of this ancient wampum of his own arranging, and taught them its use in recording the provisions of the compact by which the several nations were united into one people. At a subsequent day the wampum in present use was introduced among them by the Dutch, who in the manufactured shell bead offered an acceptable substitute for the less convenient one of the spiral shell. These beads, as shown in the plate, are purple and white, about a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth in diameter, and perforated lengthwise so as to be strung on sinew or bark thread. The white bead was manufactured from the great conch sea shell, and the purple from the muscle shell. They are woven into belts, or used in strings simply, in both of which conditions they are employed to record treaty stipulations, to convey messages, and to subserve many religious and social purposes. The word *wampum* is not of Iroquois origin. Baylie, in his *History of New Plymouth*, informs us that it was first known in New-England as *Wampumpeag*, from which its Algonquin derivation is to be inferred; and Hutchinson says that the art of making it was obtained from the Dutch about the year 1627.

Wampum beads are rarely worn, as they are scarce and held at high rates.⁽⁸⁰⁾ These beads are used chiefly for religious purposes, and to preserve laws and treaties. They are made of the conch shell, which yields both a white and a purple bead, the former of which is used for religious, and the latter for politi-



2



1. GÄ-SWEH-TÄ OTE-KO-Ä. OR BELT OF WAMPUM.
2. OTE-KO-Ä OR STRING OF WAMPUM.

WAMPUM

cal purposes. A full string of wampum is usually three feet long, and contains a dozen or more strands. White wampum was the Iroquois emblem of purity and of faith. It was hung around the neck of the White Dog before it was burned ; it was used before the periodical religious festivals for the confession of sins, no confession being regarded as sincere unless recorded with white wampum ; further than this, it was the customary offering in condonation of murder, although the purple was sometimes employed. In ancient times, six of these strands was the value of a life, the amount paid in condonation for a murder. Wampum has frequently been called the money of the Indian ; but there is no sufficient reason for supposing that they ever made it an exclusive currency, or a currency in any sense, more than silver or other ornaments. All personal ornaments, and most other articles of personal property passed from hand to hand at a fixed value ; but they appear to have had no common standard of value until they found it in our currency. If wampum had been their currency it would have had a settled value to which all other articles would have been referred. There is no doubt that it came nearer to a currency than any other species of property among them, because its uses were so general, and its transit from hand to hand so easy, that every one could be said to need it. When sold, the strings were counted and reckoned at half a cent a bead. Wampum belts were made by covering one side of a deer-skin belt with these beads, arranged after various devices, and with most laborious skill. As a belt four or five feet long by four inches wide would require

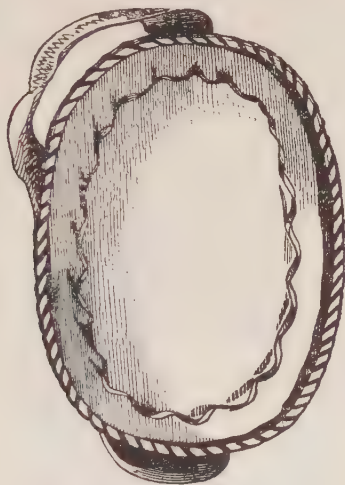
LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

several thousands of these beads, they were estimated at a great price. In making a belt no particular pattern was followed : sometimes they are of the width of three fingers and three feet long, in other instances as wide as the hand, and over three feet in length ; sometimes they are all of one color, in others variegated, and in still others woven with the figures of men to symbolize, by their attitudes, the objects or events they were designed to commemorate. The most common width was three fingers, or the width of seven beads, the length ranging from two to six feet. In belt making, which is a simple process, eight strands or cords of bark thread are first twisted, from filaments of slippery elm, of the requisite length and size ; after which they are passed through a strip of deer-skin to separate them at equal distances from each other in parallel lines. A piece of splint is then sprung in the form of a bow, to which each end of the several strings is secured, and by which all of them are held in tension, like warp threads in a weaving machine. Seven beads, these making the intended width of the belt, are then run upon a thread by means of a needle, and are passed under the cords at right angles, so as to bring one bead lengthwise between each cord, and the one next in position. The thread is then passed back again along the upper side of the cords and again through each of the beads ; so that each bead is held firmly in its place by means of two threads, one passing under and one above the cords. This process is continued until the belt reaches its intended length, when the ends of the cords are tied, the end of the belt cov-

MEDALS

ered, and afterwards trimmed with ribbons. In ancient times both the cords and the thread were of sinew.

The belt possesses an additional interest from the fact that the beads of which it is composed, formerly



Ont-wis'-dä-ga-dust-bä', or Silver Medal.

belonged to the celebrated Mohawk Chief, Joseph Brant, *Tä-yen-dä-na'-ga*. They were purchased, by the writer, of his youngest daughter Catharine in October last, at the reservation on Grand river in Upper Canada before referred to; and were afterwards taken to Tonawanda in this State and made into the present belt. In this form it will be most convenient to preserve them as a relic of the distinguished war captain of the Mohawks.

The government has long been in the habit of presenting silver medals to the chiefs of the various Indian tribes at the formation of treaties, and on the

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

occasion of their visit to the seat of government. These medals are held in the highest estimation. Red Jacket, Corn Planter, Farmer's Brother, and several other distinguished Seneca chiefs have received medals of this description. Washington presented a medal to Red Jacket in 1792. It is an elliptical plate of silver, surrounded by a rim, as represented in the figure, and is about six inches in its greatest diameter. On each side it is engraved with various devices. The medal is now worn by *Sose-ha'-wä* (Johnson), a Seneca chief.



Gā-nub'-sā, or Sea-shell Medal.

Medals of sea-shell, inlaid with silver, as represented in the figure, were also worn suspended from the neck as personal ornaments. They were made of the conch-shell, and were highly valued.

A few plates further to illustrate the handiwork of the Indian female in bead-work are introduced in this volume. The figures themselves will dispense with the necessity of any description, although they should be colored to give a full impression of their character. The patient industry of the Indian female is quite remarkable, when seen in contrast with the

BABY-FRAME

impatience of labor in the warrior himself. In the work of their reclamation and gradual induction into industrial pursuits, this fact furnishes no small degree of encouragement.

GǞ-OSE-HǞ', OR BABY-FRAME

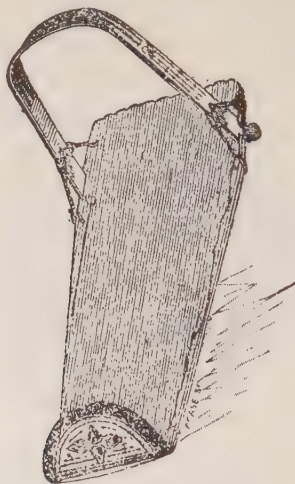
See PLATE, II. 58

This is likewise an Indian invention. It appears to have been designed rather as a convenience to the Indian mother for the transportation of her infant, than, as has generally been supposed, to secure an erect figure. The frame is about two feet in length, by about fourteen inches in width, with a carved foot-board at the small end, and a hoop or bow at the head, arching over at right angles. After being enclosed in a blanket, the infant is lashed upon the frame with belts of bead-work, which firmly secure and cover its person, with the exception of the face. A separate article for covering the face is then drawn over the bow, and the child is wholly protected.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ When carried, the burden-strap attached to the frame is placed around the forehead of the mother, and the *GǞ-ose'-hǞ* upon her back. This frame is often elaborately carved, and its ornaments are of the choicest description.

The figure is introduced to show the frame divested of the belts and drapery by which, when in actual use, it is entirely concealed. It consists of but three principal pieces of wood, the bow, bottom board and foot board, upon the first and last of which the most labor was bestowed. They are always carved, and frequently inlaid with silver, or with wood of dif-

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

ferent colors and in various figures. The bow, which arches over, is held to the bottom board by means of a cross piece, passing under it, into which the ends of the bow are inserted. It is further secured in its perpendicular position by means of side pieces in which the bow is embedded. The foot board at the small end of the frame is also carved, and often inlaid,



Gă-ose-hă, or Baby-frame.

it being the only part of it which is exposed when the infant is lashed upon the frame. Deer strings are run along the outer edges of the bottom board under which the belts are passed from side to side, passing over the body of the child. As a whole the *Gă-ose'-hă*, with its embroidered belts, and other decorations, is one of the most conspicuous articles pertaining to their social life.

When cultivating the maize, or engaged in any outdoor occupation, the *Gă-ose'-hă* is hung upon a limb of the nearest tree, and left to swing in the breeze. The



GA-ON-SEH OR BABY FRAME.

DIFFUSION OF INDIAN ARTS

patience and quiet of the Indian child in this close confinement are quite remarkable. It will hang thus suspended for hours, without uttering a complaint.

Many other articles might be introduced further to illustrate the social life of the Iroquois, did space permit, but sufficient has been given to exhibit the general character of their fabrics, implements and utensils. A portion of them, which appeared particularly calculated to exhibit their artisan intellect, have been noticed minutely, for it is in this view that they are chiefly interesting.

Such is the diffusion of Indian arts and Indian inventions among the red races, that it is impossible to ascertain with what nation or tribe they in fact originated. Many of them were common to all, from Maine to Oregon, and from the St. Lawrence to the peninsula of Florida. To this day Indian life is about the same over the whole republic. If we wished to discover the inventions of the Iroquois, we might expect to find them as well among the Sioux of the upper Mississippi as among the descendants of the Iroquois themselves. It is for this reason that in describing the fabrics which illustrate the era of Indian occupation, we should take in the whole range of Indian life, from the wild tribes dwelling in the seclusions of Oregon, to the present semi-agricultural Iroquois who reside among ourselves. They have passed through all the intermediate stages, from extreme rudeness to comparative civilization. If we wish to connect the fabrics of the former with those of our own primitive inhabitants, we may find that connection in the fact that similar implements and similar

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

fabrics, at no remote period, were in the hands, and of the manufacture of the Iroquois themselves. Many of the relics disintombed from the soil of New York relate back to the period of the Mound Builders of the west, and belong to a race of men and an age which have passed beyond the ken of Indian tradition. Our first Indian epoch is thus connected with that of the Mound Builders.⁽³⁶⁾ In the same manner, the fabrics of the Iroquois are intimately connected with those of all the tribes now resident within the republic. One system of trails belted the whole face of the territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and the intercourse between the multitude of nations who dwelt within these boundless domains was constant, and much more extensive than has ever been supposed. If any one, therefore, desires a picture of Iroquois life before Hendrick Hudson sailed up the river upon whose banks rested the eastern end of their "Long House," he should look for it in Catlin's Scenes at the skirts of the Rocky Mountains. There are diversities, it is true, but Indian life is essentially the same.⁽¹²⁷⁾

In the fabrics of the modern Iroquois, there is much to inspire confidence in their teachableness in the useful arts. When their minds are unfolded by education, and their attention is attracted by habit to agricultural pursuits, as has already become the case, to some extent, there is great promise that a portion, at least, of this gifted race will be reclaimed, and raised, eventually, to a citizenship among ourselves. It would be a grateful spectacle, yet to behold the children of our primeval forests cultivating the fields over which their fathers roamed in sylvan independence.⁽¹²⁸⁾

Chapter II

Language of the Iroquois — Alphabet — The Noun — Adjective — Comparison — Article — Adverb — Preposition — Species of Declension — The Verb — Fulness of Conjugation — Formation of Sentences — The Lord's Prayer

THE language of the Iroquois, like all unwritten languages, is imperfect in its construction, and scarcely admits of comparison, except on general principles, with those which have been systematized and perfected. It would doubtless be characterized by the schoolman as a barbarous jargon, although entitled to some portion of the indulgence which is due to all primitive or uncompounded languages, in the early stages of their formation.⁽⁷⁹⁾ To us, however, there is an interest incident to these dialects, which rises above mere literary curiosity. Through all generations, their language will continue to be spoken in our geographical terms: "their names are on our waters, we may not wash them out."⁽⁷³⁾ The face of nature, indeed, changes its appearance, *mutat terra vices*, but its landmarks remain essentially the same. Within our borders, the Iroquois have written them over with such a permanent imprint, that to the most distant ages will our hills and vales and ever-flowing rivers speak

"Their dialect of yore."

The *Ho-de'-no-sau-nee* were eminently fortunate in engrafting their names upon the features of nature, if

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

they were desirous of a living remembrance. No one can turn to the lake, or river, or streamlet, to which they have bequeathed an appellation, without confessing that the Indian has perpetuated himself by a monument more eloquent and imperishable than could be fabricated by human hands.

From considerations of this description, there arises a sufficient interest in the language of our predecessors, to invite an inquiry into its principal features.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Of the six dialects in which it is now spoken, the Mohawk and Oneida have a close resemblance to each other; the Cayuga and Seneca the same; while the Onondaga and Tuscarora are not only unlike each other, but are also distinguished from the other four by strong dialectical differences. In the estimation of the Iroquois, the Onondaga dialect is the most finished and majestic, and the Oneida the least vigorous in its expressions; but to the American ear, the former is harsh and pointed, and the latter is liquid, harmonious, and musical. The Tuscarora is admitted to be a dialect of the Iroquois language, but it has not such a close affinity to either of the remaining five, as the latter have to each other. In conversation they are all able to understand each other with readiness, unless words intervene which have been naturalized into one of their dialects from foreign languages. A comparison of these dialects will be found in the table.

The alphabet common to the six dialects consists of nineteen letters: A, C, D, E, G, H, I, J, K, N, O, Q, R, S, T, U, W, X, and Y.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In addition to several elementary sounds which require a combina-

LANGUAGE OF THE IROQUOIS

tion of letters, the Senecas occasionally employ the sound of Z; but it is so closely allied with the sound of S, as not to be distinguishable, except by careful observation. The Mohawks and Oneidas use the liquid L, and the Tuscaroras occasionally employ the sound of F;⁽⁷⁵⁾ but these letters are not common to all the dialects. It has been customary to exclude the liquid R from the Iroquois alphabet, as not common to the several dialects, but this is clearly erroneous. Although it is principally found in the Mohawk, Seneca, and Cayuga, it is yet occasionally discovered in each of the others. Some of the ancient writers affirmed that this letter was not to be found in the Oneida tongue, and that the word Rebecca, for example, would be pronounced, by an Oneida, Lequëcca. It is possible that the presence of the consonant *b*, which is unknown in their language, may have rendered the substitution of L necessary to effect the whole pronunciation; but it is certain that in some of their words the R is found, as, for example, in the name of Schoharie creek, *O-sko'-harl*. This letter is found in the Onondaga dialect, in the same geographical name, which, in the latter, is *Sko'-har*. In the Tuscarora, this letter is frequently found, as, for instance, in the name of Buffalo, *Ne-o-thro'-rä*, and of Niagara, *O-ne-ä'-cars*.

The number of their elementary sounds, as at present ascertained, is below that of the English language, but twenty-three having been determined in the Seneca tongue, while in the former it is well known that there are thirty-eight. A more critical analysis would doubtless discover additional sounds,

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

as in the guttural and nasal tones they take a wider range than the English voice.

In illustrating the parts of speech by a cursory examination, and in elucidating the declensions and conjugations, the words introduced as specimens will be taken from the Seneca language.

It is supposed by those who have inquired philosophically into the formation of language, that the noun substantive would be the first part of speech in the order of origination, inasmuch as the objects in nature must be named, and perhaps classed, before relations between them are suggested, or actions concerning them are expressed. Much of the beauty of a language depends upon this part of speech. Nouns of one syllable are rarely, if ever, found in either of the dialects; those of two syllables are not very numerous; those of three and four syllables embrace the great mass of words which belong to this part of speech. As specimens of the language, the following examples are given:—

NOUNS OF TWO SYLLABLES.

An-da',	Day.	Gă-ce',	Tree.
So-a',	Night.	Ha-ace',	Panther.
Gă-o',	Wind.	Je-yeh',	Dog.
Gus-no',	Bark.	Gen-joh',	Fish.

NOUNS OF THREE SYLLABLES.

Ah-wă'-o,	Rose.	O-o'-ză,	Bass-wood.
O-gis'-tă,	Fire.	O-āne'-dă,	Shrub.
O-we'-ză,	Ice.	O-nă'-tă,	Leaf.
O-dus'-hote,	A spring.	Gă-ha'-neh,	Summer.
Gă-hă'-dă,	Forest.	O-gă's'-ah,	Evening.
O-eke'-tă,	Thistle.	Gă-o'-wo,	Canoe.

THE NOUN

NOUNS OF FOUR SYLLABLES.

O-na-gă'-nose,	Water.	Ong-wa-o'-weh,	Indian.
Gă-a-nun'-da,	Mountain.	Gă-gă-neās'-heh,	Knife.
Gă-gwe-dake'-neh,	Spring.	O-gwen-nis'-hă,	Copper.
Să-da'-che'-ah,	Morning.	Ah-tă-gwen'-dă,	Flint.
Gă-a-o'-dă,	Gun.		

NOUNS OF FIVE SYLLABLES.

Să-da'-wă-sun-teh,	Midnight.	So-a'-kă-gă-gwă,	Moon.
O-wis'-tă-no-o,	Silver.	Gă-ne-o'-us-heh,	Iron.
An-da'-kă-gă-gwă,	Sun.	O-dă'-wă-an-do,	Otter.

In most, if not all languages, the idea of singular and plural is conveyed by an inflection of the word itself, or by some addition. To illustrate from the language under consideration, which forms the plural in several ways by inflection, the subjoined examples are introduced.

Singular.		Plural.	
O-on'-dote,	A tree.	O-on-do'-do,	Trees.
Gă-no'-sote,	A house.	Gă-no-so'-do,	Houses.
Gă-ne-o'-wa-o,	A brook.	Gă-ne-o-wa-o'-neo,	Brooks.
Je-dă'-o,	A bird.	Je-dă-o'-suh-uh,	Birds.
O-an'-nuh,	A pole.	O-an'-nuh-suh,	Poles.
Ga-hun'-da,	A creek.	Ga-hun-da'-neo,	Creeks.

There are several other terminations by which the plural is indicated.

It is said that the dual number originated in the difficulty of inventing the numerals, one, two, three, &c., which are in themselves extremely abstract conceptions. The ideas of *one*, *two* and *more*, which correspond with singular, dual and plural, would be far more easily formed in the mind, than the idea of number in general; and the most simple mode of expressing them would be by a variation of the word

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

itself. Hence in the Hebrew and Greek, which are original or uncompounded languages, in the general sense, the dual is found to exist, while in the Latin, and in modern languages, which are compounds, and were formed subsequent to the invention of numerals, the dual number is discarded. The Iroquois, so far as we know, is an original and uncompounded language, and it has the dual number, both in its verbs and nouns.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Gender was very happily indicated in the Latin and Greek by final letters or terminations. In the English, by giving up the ancient declensions, this mode of designating gender was also laid aside, and two or three modes substituted; thus, that of varying the word itself, as tiger, tigress, of giving the same animal names entirely different, as buck and doe, and more frequently still that of prefixing words which signify male and female. The Iroquois nouns have three genders, which are indicated in the manner last mentioned. Unlike the provisions of other languages, all inanimate objects, without distinction, were placed in the neuter gender.

In some respects the adjective would be a simple part of speech to invent, as quality is an object of external sense, and is always in concrete with the subject. But to discover and adopt a classification, founded upon the similitudes of objects, would be more difficult, since both generalisation and abstraction would be required. The dialects of the *Ho-dé'-no-sau-nee* appear to be amply furnished with this part of speech, on which so much of the beauty of a language is known to depend, to express nearly every

ADJECTIVE

shade of quality in objects. Comparison, of which they have the three degrees, is effected by adding another word, and not by an inflection of the word itself, in the following manner:

	Positive.	Comparative.	Superlative.
Great,	Go-wā-na',	Ah-gwus'-go-wā-na,	Ha-yo-go-sote'-go-wā-na.
Good,	We-yo',	Ah-gwus'-we-yo,	Ha-yo-go-sote'-we-yo.
Sweet,	O-gä-uh',	Ah-gwus'-o-gä-uh,	Ha-yo-go-sote'-o-gä-uh.
Small,	Ne-wā-ah',	Ah-gwus'-ne-wā-ah,	Ha-yo-go-sote'-ne-wā-ah.

But in connecting the adjective with the noun, the two words usually enter into combination, and lose one or more syllables. This principle, or species of contraction, is carried throughout the language, and to some extent prevents prolixity. The language has but few primitive words, or ultimate roots; and when these are mastered, their presence is readily detected and understood, through all the elaborate and intricate combinations in which they are used. To illustrate the manner of compounding the adjective with the substantive, the following examples may be taken: *O-yä'*, fruit; *O-gä-uh'*, sweet; *O-yä'-gä-uh*, sweet fruit; *O*, the first syllable of sweet, being dropped. Again, *E'-yose*, a blanket; *Gä'-geb-ant*, white; *Yose-ä-geh'-ant*, white blanket; *Gä-no'-sote*, a house; *We-yó'*, good; *Gä-no'-se-yo*, a good house; literally fruit sweet, blanket white, and house good, illustrative of that natural impulse in man which leads him to place the object before the quality. In other instances the adjective is divided, and one part prefixed and the other suffixed to the noun thus: *Gä-nun'-dä-yeh*, a village; *Ne-wä'-ah*, small; *Ne-gä-nun-dä'-ah*, a small village; *Ah-tä'-quä-o-weh*, a moccason; *Ne-wä'-tä-quä-ah*, a small

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

moccason. The adjective is also frequently used uncompounded with the noun, as *Ga-na'-dike-ho E'-yose*, a green blanket.

The indefinite article, *a* or *an*, is entirely unknown in the language of the Iroquois. There are numerous particles, as in the Greek, which, without significance in themselves separately, are employed for euphony, and to connect other words. These particles qualify and sometimes limit the signification of words; but yet if they should be submitted to a critical examination, none of them would answer the idea of the article *a*, or *an*. The existence in completeness of this refined part of speech would indicate a greater maturity and finish than the dialects of the Iroquois possessed. But the definite article *na*, *the*, is found in the language. It is not as distinctly defined, and perfectly used, as in more polished languages, but it is usually prefixed to substantives, as with us, to indicate the thing intended.

Of the adverb nothing need be introduced, except to remark that the language is furnished with the usual variety. A few specimens may be added, *Nake-hó'*, here; *O-nă'*, now; *Ta-dă'*, yesterday; *Skă-no'*, well.

The preposition is allowed to be so abstract and metaphysical in its nature, that it would be one of the last and most difficult parts of speech to invent. It expresses relation "considered in concrete with the correlative object;" and is of necessity very abstruse. The prepositions, *of*, *to*, and *for*, are regarded as the most abstract, from the character of the relations which they indicate. Declension, it is supposed, was

PREPOSITIONS

resorted to by the Greeks, and adopted by the Latins, to evade the necessity of inventing these prepositions; as it would be much easier to express the idea by the variation of the noun, than to ascertain some word which would convey such an abstract relation as that indicated by *of* or *to*. By the ancient cases, this difficulty was surmounted, and the preposition was blended with the correlative object, as in *Sermonis*, of a speech; *Sermoni*, to a speech. Modern languages have laid aside the ancient cases, for the reason, it is said, that the invention of prepositions rendered them unnecessary. In the Iroquois language, the prepositions above mentioned are not to be found; neither have its nouns a declension, like the Greek and Latin. Some traces of a declension are discoverable; but the cases are too imperfect to be compared with those of the ancient languages, or to answer fully the ends of the prepositions. This part of speech is the most imperfectly developed of any in the language; and the contrivances resorted to, to express such of these relations as were of absolute necessity, are too complex to be easily understood.

The language, however, contains the simple prepositions, as *Da-gă'-o*, across; *No'-gă*, after; *Nă'-ho*, at; *O'-an-do*, before; *Dose-gă'-o*, near, &c. It must be inferred that the framers of the language had no distinct idea of the relations conveyed by the deficient prepositions, otherwise they would be found in the language. From the number of particles employed in the language, and the complexity of their combinations, it would be impossible to analyze the word, or phrase, for example, in which *on* oc-

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

curs, and take out the specific fragment which has the force of the preposition.

In the imperfect declensions through which the Iroquois substantives are passed, pronouns, as well as prepositions, are interwoven by inflection. These declensions are not reduceable to regular forms, but admit of great diversities, thus rendering the language itself, like all simple and original languages, exceedingly intricate in its inflections. The following examples will exhibit the ordinary variations of the noun.

Gä-no'-sote,	A house.
Ho-no'-sote,	His house.
Hä-to-no'-sote,	Of, to, from, or at his house.
Ho-no'-sa-go,	In his house.
A-so'-gwä-tä,	A pipe.
Ho-so'-gwä-tä,	His pipe.
Na-no-so'-gwä-tä,	Of his pipe.
Ho-so'-gwä-tä-go,	In his pipe.
O-on-dote',	A tree.
Ho-on-dä',	His tree.
Hä'-to-de-on-dote,	Of, to, from, or at his tree.
O-yä',	Fruit.
Ho-yä',	His fruit.
Ho-dä-yä',	Of, to, from, or at his fruit.
Wä-nis'-heh-da,	Day.
Dwen-nis'-heh-dake,	At a day past.
Dwen-nis'-heh-deh,	At a day future.
Sä-wen-nis'-hät,	With the day.
Wä-sun'-dä-da,	Night.
Dwä-sun'-dä-dake,	At a night past.
Dwä-sun'-dä-da,	At a night future.
Sä-wä-sun'-dart,	With the night.

PRONOUNS

Of the pronouns but little need be added, except that they are very defective: thus *E* signifies I, we, me, and us; *Ese*, thou, ye or you, and thee. *He* and *they* are wanting, except as expressed in the verb by its inflection. The personal pronouns make the possessive case very regularly, thus: *Ah-gä-weh'*, mine; *Sä-weh'*, thine; *Ho-weh'*, his; *Go-weh'*, hers; *Ung-gwä-weh'*, ours; *Swä-weh'*, yours; *Ho-nau-weh'*, theirs. Similar variations can be made on some of the relative pronouns.

Interjections are extremely numerous in this language, and appear to be adapted to all the passions. It has also the ordinary conjunctions. •

Next and last the verb presents itself. This part of speech, in the nature of things, must have been one of the first invented, as without its aid, there could be no affirmation, no expression of action or passion. Among primitive languages, the conjugation of the verb is extremely complex. Grammarians assign as a reason, that the tenses and moods of the verb would be more easily indicated by its inflection, than by contriving or inventing the substantive verb, I am; the possessive verb, I have; and the auxiliaries, do, will, would, shall, can, and may; all of which are necessary in the conjugation of an English verb. It will be remembered that the English verb admits of but three variations in itself, as *press*, *pressed*, *pressing*; and its conjugation is completed by the auxiliary verbs above-mentioned; while the Greek, Latin, and Iroquois verbs are conjugated, except some part of the passive voice in Latin, by the variations throughout of the verb itself; thus, *Legeram*, I had

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read; *Che-wä'-ge-yä-go*, I had shot; *Legero*, I shall have read; *A-wä'-ge'-yä-go*, I shall have shot. In this manner, the conjugation not only dispensed with the pronouns I, thou, and he, with their plurals, but also with the auxiliary verbs, which have introduced such prolixity into modern languages. The Iroquois verbs are conjugated with great regularity and precision, making the active and passive voices, all the moods, except the infinitive, and all the tenses, numbers, and persons, common to the English verb. Some part of the optative mood can also be made.

But the participles are wanting. It is difficult to determine upon what principle the absence of this part of speech, which in a written language would be a serious blemish, shall be accounted for; and much more difficult to ascertain the nature of the substitute in a verbal language. A substitute for the infinitive mood is found in the present tense of the subjunctive mood, together with a pronoun, as in the following passage: "Direct that *He'-no* may come and give us rain" (see the invocation entire, Vol. I. p. 189); instead of saying, "Direct *He'-no* to come, and give us rain." In correctly translated Indian speeches this form of expression will frequently appear, from the influence which this idiomatic peculiarity of all Indian languages will exercise upon the translator.

The origin of the dual number has been adverted to. In the active voice of Iroquois verbs, the dual number is well distinguished; but in the passive voice, the dual and the plural are the same. The presence of this number is indicative of the intricate nature of their conjugations.

THE VERB

To convey a distinct notion of the mutations through which an Iroquois verb passes in its conjugation, and to furnish those who are curious, as linguists, with a specimen for comparison with the conjugations of other languages, one of their verbs, with its inflections, is subjoined in Appendix A, No. 2. Its great regularity, even harmony of inflection, conveys a favorable impression of the structure of the language; but it does not, nor would it be expected to possess the elegance and beauty of the Greek, or the brevity and solidity of the Latin conjugations. The principal parts of a few verbs are given as specimens.

ACTIVE VOICE.

Pres. Indic.	Future Indic.	Perfect Indic.	
Ge'-yāse,	Eh-ge'-yāke,	Ah-ge'-yā-go,	To shoot.
O-gee'-a,	Eh-ge'-a,	Ah-ge'-a-go,	To die.
Gä-geh',	Eh-gä-geh',	Ah'-gä-geh,	To see.
Ga-go'-ace,	Eh-gä-go'-ake,	Ah-gä'-go-a-go,	To strike.
Ah-got'-hun-da,	Eh-gä'-ouk,	Ah-ga'-o-geh,	To hear.
Kna-ga-hä',	Enk-na'-ga-ă,	Kna-ga'-huk,	To drink.

It has been laid down as a maxim, that "the more simple any language is in its composition, the more complex it must be in its declensions and conjugations, and on the contrary, the more simple it is in its declensions and conjugations, the more complex it must be in its composition." The position is thus illustrated: when two people, by uniting or otherwise, blend their languages, the union always simplifies the structure of the resulting language, while it introduces a greater complexity into its materials. The Greek, which is uncompounded, and

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is said to have but three hundred primitives, is extremely intricate in its conjugations. On the other hand, the Latin, which is a compound language,⁽⁷⁹⁾ laid aside the middle voice and the optative mood, which are peculiar to the Greek, and also the dual number. This simplified its conjugations. In its declensions, the Latin, although it has an additional case in the ablative, is yet much more simple than the Greek, as it has no contract nouns. The English, which is a mixture of several languages, is more simple than either in its declensions, which are made by the aid of prepositions alone; and in its conjugations, which are made by other verbs. With this principle in mind, the regularity, fulness, and intricacy of the Iroquois conjugations are not particularly remarkable. Its primitive words, as before remarked, are few, and the language has been formed out of them by a complex and elaborate system of combinations.

The language of the *Ho-dé'-no-sau-nee* has the substantive or neuter verb, *E-neh'-ga*, I am, although imperfect in some of its tenses. This verb is regarded by philologists as extremely difficult of invention, as it simply expresses being. Impersonal verbs are also very numerous in the language, as *O-geon'-de-o*, it snows; *O-nä'-yose'-don-de-o*, it hails; *Gä-wă'-no-däs*, it thunders. It is supposed by those who have inquired into the formation of language, that most of the verbs in primitive tongues originally took the impersonal form, for the reason that such a verb expresses in itself an entire event, while the division of the event into subject and attribute, involves some nice metaphysical distinctions.

ARTICULATION

Before closing upon this subject it will be proper to notice a few of the peculiarities of the language. In the first place it has no labials, consequently the Iroquois, in speaking, never touch their lips together. This fact may be employed as a test in the pronunciation of their words and names.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Their language possesses the numerals firstly, secondly, thirdly, &c., also the numbers one, two, three, ascending, by various contrivances, to about one hundred. For sums above this, their mode of enumeration was defective, as mathematical computation ceased, and some descriptive term was substituted in its place.

The voices of the *Ho-de'-no-sau-nee* are powerful, and capable of reaching a high shrill key. In conversation its natural pitch is above the English voice, especially with the female, whose voice, by a natural transition, frequently, rises in conversation an octave above its ordinary pitch, and sounds upon a tone to which the English voice could not be elevated and retain a distinct articulation. It also passes up and down, at intervals, from octave to octave, the voice retaining upon the elevated key a clear and musical intonation.

In verbal languages the words appear to be literally strung together in a chain, if the one under inspection may be taken as a specimen. Substantives are mingled by declension with pronouns, and sometimes with the substantive verb, or compounded with the adjective, thus forming a new word. Particles are then conjoined, varying or adding to the signification of the compound, until the word, by the addition of the verb, becomes so far extended as to embrace a perfect sen-

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

tence. The principles upon which these combinations are effected are too much involved to be systematized or generalized. The most which can be said is, that the general result is accomplished by conjugations and declensions, which, although regular in general, are diversified and intricate. To illustrate the manner in which words are made up, the following example may be given. *Nun-da-wä-o*, the radix of the name of the Senecas, signifies "a great hill;" by suffixing *o-no*, which conveys the idea of "people at," *Nun-da-wä'-o-no*, results literally, "the people at the great hill." Next, by adding the particle *ga*, itself without significance, but when conjoined, conveying the idea of "place" or "territory," it gives the compound *Nun-da-wä'-o-no-ga'*, "the territory of the people at the great hill." A more perfect specimen of the language, as a whole, may be found in the following version of the Lord's Prayer in the Seneca dialect.

Gwä-nee' gä-o-yä'-geh che-de-oh'; sä-sa-no-do'-geh-teek; gä-o' ne-dwa na' sa-nunk-tä; na-huk' ne-yä-weh' na yo-an'-jä-geh ha'ne-sä-ne-go'-dä ha ne-de-o'-da na' gä-o-yä'-geh. Dun-dä-gwä-e'-wä-sä-gwus na' ong-wi-wä-na-ark-seh' na' da-yä'-ke-wä-sä-gwä'-seh na' onk-ke-wä-na'-ä-ge. Dä-ge-o'-na-geh'-wen-nis'-heh-da na' ong-wä-quä'. Să-nuk' na-huh' heh'-squä-ä ha' gä-yeh na' wä-ate-keh' na-gwä' na' dä-gwä-yä-duh'-nuh-onk ha' gä-yeh na' wä-ate-keh'; na' seh-eh' na ese' sä-wä na' o-nuk-ta' kuh' na' gä-hus-ta-seh' kuk' na' da-gä-ä-sä-uh'. Na-huh'-ne-yä-weh.¹

¹ If an attempt should be made to give a literal translation of each word, or phrase, it would render transposition necessary, and

NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS

Names of places as well as of persons, form an integral part of their language, and hence are all significant. It furnishes a singular test of their migrations, for accurate descriptions of localities become in this manner incorporated into their dialects. The Tuscaroras still adduce proof from this source to establish a common origin with the Iroquois, and pretend to trace their route from Montreal, *Do-te-ä'-co*, to the Mississippi, *O-näu-we-yo'-kä*, and from thence to North Carolina, out of which they were driven in 1712. The era of their separation from the parent stock, and of this migration, they have entirely lost; but they consider the names of places on this extended route, now incorporated in their language, a not less certain indication of a common origin than the similarity of their languages. Indian languages are exceedingly tenacious of traditionary facts intrusted to their preservation.

change the formation of the words in some respects, as the following will exhibit.

Gwä-nee', che-de-oh' gä-o'-yā-geh, gā-sa-nuh', ese' sā-nuk-tā' gā-oh'
 Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come,
 ese' sne'-go-eh ne-yā-weh' yo an-jā'-geh ha' ne-de-o'-deh gä-o'-yā-geh.
 thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.
 Dun-dā-gwä-e'-wā-sā-gwus ong-wā-yeh'-his-heh' da-yā-ke'-a wā-
 Forgive us our debts as we forgive
 sā-gwus-seh' ho-yeh'-his. Dä-ge-oh' ne' na-geh' wen-nis'-heh-deh e' na-hā-
 our debtors. Give us this day our
 da-wen-nis'-heh-geh o-ä'-qwa. Hā-squā'-ah e' sā-no' ha' wā-ate-keh',
 daily bread. Lead us not into temptation,
 na-gwä' dā-gwä-yā-dan'-nake ne' wā-ate-keh', na-seh'-eh nees' o-nuk'-tā
 but deliver from us evil, for thine is the kingdom,
 na-kuh' na gā-hus'-tes-heh, na-kuh' da-gā-ä'-sā-oh'.
 and the power, and the glory.
 Na-huh'-se-yā-weh.

Chapter III

Indian Geography — Method of Bestowing Names — Central Trail — Its Course — Ko-la-ne'-ka — Highway of the Continent — Derivation of Niagara — Ontario Trail — Genesee Trail — Conhocton Trail — Susquehanna Trail — Indian Runners — Iroquois Map

OUR Indian geography is a subject of inquiry peculiar in its interest and in its character. Many of the names bestowed by our predecessors having become incorporated into our language, will be transmitted to distant generations, and be familiar after their race, and perhaps ours, have passed away. There is still attainable a large amount of geographical information pertaining to the period of Indian occupation, which, estimated at its true value, would amply remunerate for its collection; and which, if neglected, must fade, ere many years, from remembrance. The features of nature were first christened by the red man. These baptismal names, the legacy of the Indian, it were prodigality to cast away. To the future scholar this subject will commend itself, when, perchance, the dusky mantle of obscurity has enshrouded it, and research itself cannot penetrate the covering.

In an antiquarian aspect, it may be considered fortunate, that as the villages and settlements of the *Ho-de-no-sau-nee* disappeared, and the cities and villages of the succeeding race were reared upon their sites, all of these ancient names were transferred to

METHOD OF BESTOWING NAMES

these substituted habitations. Yielding step by step, and contracting their possessions from year to year, the Iroquois yet continued in the constant use of their original names, although the localities themselves had been surrendered. If a Seneca, for example, were to refer to Geneva, he would still say *Gä-nur'-dä-sa'-ga*; and the Oneida in like manner would call Utica, *Nun-da-dä'-sis*. All of these localities, as well as our rivers, lakes and streams, still dwell in the memory of the Iroquois by their ancient names, while such places as have sprung up on nameless sites, since they surrendered their domain, have been christened as they appeared. These names, likewise, are significant, and are either descriptive of features of the country, the record of some historical event, or interwoven with some tradition. From these causes their geography has been preserved among them with remarkable accuracy.

The Iroquois method of bestowing names was peculiar. It frequently happened that the same lake or river was recognized by them under several different names. This was eminently the case with the larger lakes. It was customary to give to them the name of some village or locality upon their borders. The Seneca word *Te-car-ne-o-di'*, means something more than "lake." It includes the idea of nearness, literally, "the lake at." Hence, if a Seneca were asked the name of lake Ontario, he would answer, *Ne-ah'-gä Te-car-ne-o-di'*, the lake at *Ne-ah'-gä*." This was a Seneca village at the mouth of the Niagara river. If an Onondaga were asked the same question, he would prefix *Swa-geh'* to the word lake, literally,

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"the lake of Oswego."¹ The same multiplicity of names frequently arose in relation to the principal rivers, where they passed through the territories of more than one nation.⁽⁷⁶⁾ It was not, however, the case with villages and other localities.

The principal villages of the Iroquois, in the days of aboriginal dominion, were connected by well-beaten trails.⁽⁴¹⁾ These villages were so situated that the central trail, which started from the Hudson at the site of Albany, passed through those of the Mohawks and Oneidas; and, crossing the Onondaga valley and the Cayuga country, a few miles north of the chief settlements of these nations, it passed through the most prominent villages of the Senecas, in its route to the valley of the Genesee. After crossing this celebrated valley, it proceeded westward to lake Erie, coming out upon it at the mouth of Buffalo creek, on the present site of Buffalo.

Since this Indian highway passed through the centre of the Long House,⁽¹²⁶⁾ as well as through the fairest portions of New York, it is desirable to commence with this trail on the Hudson, and trace it through the State. It will furnish the most convenient method of noticing such stopping-places as were marked with appropriate names in the dialects of the Iroquois, and also the Indian villages which dotted this extended route.

Albany, at which point the trail started from the

¹ Lake Ontario was known at an early day among the English as lake Cataraque. The root of this word, *Ga-dai'-o-que* in Onondaga, *Gă-dă'-loque* in Oneida, and *Gă-da-o'-ka* in Seneca, signifies "A fort in the water."

CENTRAL TRAIL

Hudson, owes its Iroquois name to the openings which lay between that river and the Mohawk at Schenectady. Long anterior to the foundation of the city, this site was well known to our predecessors under the name of *Skä-neh'-tä-de*. The name is given in the Seneca dialect, and signifies "beyond the openings."¹ Out of this name originated that of the Hudson, *Skä-neh'-tä-de Ga-hun'-da*, "the river beyond the openings."

Leaving the Hudson at the site of Albany, the trail took the direction of the old turnpike north of the capitol, and proceeded, mostly on the line of this road, to a spring which issued from a ravine about six miles west. From thence it continued towards Schenectady, and descending the ravine through which the railway passes, it came upon the Mohawk at the site of this city, and crossed the river at the fording-place, where the toll-bridge has since been erected. Schenectady has not only appropriated the Indian name of Albany, but has, by inheritance, one of the most euphonious names in the dialects of the Iroquois, as given by the Oneidas. It was christened *O-no-al'-i-gōne*, which signifies "in the head," a somewhat fanciful geographical name.

From this fording-place, two trails passed up the Mohawk, one upon each side. That upon the south was most travelled, as the three Mohawk castles, as they were termed, or principal villages, were upon

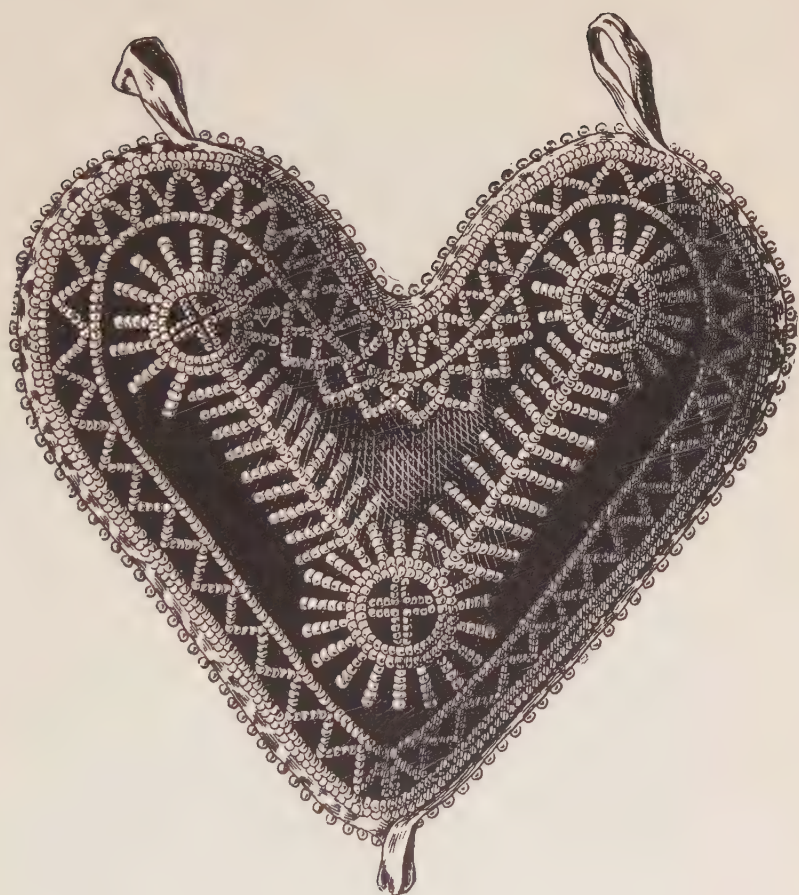
¹ In the Seneca dialect this word is compounded of *Gä-neh'-tä-yeh*, "openings," and *Se'-gawä*, "beyond." In the same manner *Skai'-dä-de*, "beyond the swamp," is a compound of *Gai'-tä-yeh*, "a swamp," and *Se'-gawä*, "beyond."

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that side. Following the valley, and pursuing the windings of the river, the trail crossed the Schoharie creek, *Ose-ho-kar'-lä*, and entered *Te-hon-dä-lo'-ga*, the lower castle of the Mohawks, situated upon the west side of this creek, at its junction with the river.' At a subsequent day Fort Hunter was located near the site of this Indian village. From thence the trail, continuing up the valley nearly on the line subsequently pursued by the canal, crossed the Canajoharie creek near its junction with the river, and led up to Canajoharie, *Ga-nä-jo'-hä-e*,¹ or the middle Mohawk castle. This favorite and populous village occupied a little eminence upon the east bank of the *Ot-squä-go* creek, and overlooking the present site of Fort Plain. From Canajoharie, the trail followed up the river to *Gä-ne'-ga-hä'-ga*, the upper Mohawk castle, which was situated in the town of Danube, Herkimer county, nearly opposite the mouth of the East Canada creek. Leaving this Indian village, the last in the territory of the Mohawks, the trail pursued the bank of the river without passing any other stopping-place, until it reached the site of Utica, in the country of the Oneidas.

Near this city, on the east side, the trail passed around the base of a hill, in such a manner as to be noticeable for its singularity. Hence, *Nun-da-dä'-sis*, signifying "around the hill," was bestowed upon this locality, as a name descriptive of the course of the trail. When Utica at a subsequent day sprang up

¹ This word signifies "washing the basin." In the bed of the Canajoharie creek there is said to be a basin, several feet in diameter, with a symmetrical concavity, washed out in the rock. Hence the name *Ga-nä-jo'-hä-e*. One would naturally have expected to have found the Indian village upon this creek, instead of the *Ot-squä'-go*. (77)



YA-WA-O-DÄ-QUÄ OR PIN CUSHION.

COURSE OF THE CENTRAL TRAIL

near this spot, the name was transferred, according to the custom of the Iroquois, to the city itself.

From Utica, the trail proceeded up the river, and crossing the Whitesboro creek, at Whitesboro, *Che-gä-queh*, and the Oriskany creek, *Ole-his'-ka*, at Oriskany, it continued up the bank of the Mohawk to Rome, where this river turns to the north.

The site of Rome was an important stopping-place with the Iroquois, both as the terminus of the trails upon the Mohawk, and as a carrying-place for canoes. A narrow ridge at this point forms a division between those waters which flow through the Mohawk and the Hudson, and those which flow through lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence. The portage from the Mohawk to Wood creek, was about a mile. In the days of aboriginal sovereignty, the amount of navigation, in bark canoes, upon the large lakes, as well as upon the smaller lakes and rivers, was much greater than we would be apt to suspect. Birch-bark canoes would find their way from Detroit, and even beyond to Rome and Schenectady. Others from Kingston, would make their way into the Cayuga¹ and Seneca lakes, and on to the old trading-post at the mouth of the Niagara river. Such was the facility of transportation, owing to the lightness of the vessel, that the portage made but a slight obstruction. In an hour

¹ In 1793, a canoe laded with twelve hundred pounds of fur started from Kingston in Canada; and having coasted the lake to the Great Sodus bay, *Seo-dose'*, and been transported from thence over the portage to Clyde river, it made its way into the Cayuga lake and up to Aurora, *De-ä-awen'-dote*; where the furs were transhipped in a bateau for Albany. The canoe was owned for some years afterwards by Col. Payne, one of the first settlers of Aurora.

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after drawing out the canoe from Wood creek, it was floating again upon the Mohawk; and the cargo having also been carried over, the frail vessel was soon re-laded, and under weigh upon the descending stream.¹ The aboriginal name of this locality, *Da-yä-hoo-wä'-quat*, which signifies a "place for carrying boats," has been bestowed upon Rome.

The trail upon the north bank of the Mohawk ascended the river from Schenectady nearly upon the line since pursued by the turnpike. At Tribes Hill, nearly opposite the lower Mohawk castle, a branch trail crossed the country to Johnstown, *Ko-lä-né'-kä*, a few miles north from the river.⁽⁴²⁾ This was the name bestowed upon the residence of Sir William Johnson, the Indian superintendent. From the period of the settlement of this distinguished personage in the country of the Mohawks, and more especially after the battle of lake George in 1755, he acquired and maintained, until his death in 1774, a greater personal influence over the Iroquois than was ever possessed by any other individual, or even by any government. A careful scrutiny of his intercourse with the Iroquois shows that he exercised a watchful care over their welfare, and that his conduct was gov-

¹ For many years after the commencement (about 1790) of the settlement of Western New York, the greater part of the supplies of merchandise from the east, as well as the immigrants who flocked thitherward, with their household goods and farming implements, ascended the Mohawk in bateaus or small river boats as far as Rome. Having drawn out their vessels at this portage and unladed them, they carried them over the ridge and launched them into Wood creek. Descending to the Oswego river, which is formed by the outlets of the principal inland lakes of the State, the whole lake country was open before them. Like the Iroquois, they made use of the natural highways of the country.

erned by the most enlightened principles of rectitude and benevolence. To this fact he owed his personal popularity, and the affectionate respect with which the Iroquois ever regarded him. His house at *Ko-lä-ne'-kä* was a favorite place of Indian resort; and the Mohawk and the Seneca, the Oneida and the Cayuga felt as much at ease under the roof of the baronet as beneath the wide-spread shelter of their own forests.^(27, 31)

Leaving Johnstown, the trail came down again upon the Mohawk at the small Indian village of *Gä-nö'-wau-ga*, near the site of Fonda, where it intersected the river trail. Continuing up the Mohawk, and crossing the East Canada creek, *Date-car'-hu-har'-lo*, and over the site of Little Falls, *Tä-lä-qué'-ga*, it came next upon the West Canada creek, *Te-uge'-ga*, and from thence led up to the portage at the site of Rome.

As with lake Ontario, the Mohawk river was known under a multiplicity of names. It is difficult now to determine whether it had any general name running through the several dialects by which it was known to all the nations of the League. Among the Senecas, the West Canada creek was considered the true head of the river, and this stream, together with the Mohawk from Herkimer to the Hudson, was known as one river under the name of *Te-uge'-ga*, while the Mohawk from the junction of the West Canada creek to its source was regarded as a branch under the name of *Da-yä-hoo-wä'-quat*. With the Oneidas and Onondagas it was known under the last name, or the word which, in their respective dialects, signifies the same thing.⁽⁷⁶⁾

From Rome, the main trail, taking a south-west

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direction, passed through Verona, *Te-o-na-tälé'*, and finally came out at Oneida castle. This was the principal village of the Oneidas, called in their dialect *Gä-no-ä-lo'-häle*, which is rendered "a head on a pole." In this beautifully situated Indian village, burned the council-fire of one of the nations of the League. The Oneidas were fortunate in the location of their territories, embracing as they did not only some of the finest agricultural districts of the State, but the most attractive localities in its central parts.

Fording the Oneida creek at the Indian village, the trail, continuing west, passed near the site of Canestota, *Kä-ne-to'-tä*, crossed the Canaseraga creek, *Kä-nä-so-wä'-ga*, near the site of the village of the same name, the Chittenango creek, *Chu-de-näng'*, at the site of Chittenango, and from thence led up to the Deep Spring near Manlius, on the boundary line between the territories of the Oneidas and Onondagas. This spring was known under the name of *De-o-sä-dä-ya'-ah*, signifying "the spring in the deep basin," and was a favorite stopping-place of the Iroquois in their journeys upon the great thoroughfare.

Leaving this locality, and continuing west, the trail forded the Limestone creek, *De-ä-o-no'-he*, at the site of Manlius, and proceeding mostly on the line since pursued by the turnpike, it crossed the Jamesville creek, *Gä-sun'-to*, at the site of Jamesville, and from thence descending into the Onondaga valley, it crossed the Onondaga river, *O-nun-dä'-ga*, and entered the Indian village of *Gis-twe-ah'-na*, which occupied the site of the present village of Onondaga Hollow.

The Onondagas made this picturesque and fertile

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valley their chief place of residence. Here was the Council-Brand of the confederacy, which rendered it the sylvan seat of government of the League. In the estimation of the Iroquois, it was a consecrated vale. Their eloquence, their legendary lore, and their civil history, were all interwoven, by association, with this favorite valley. Here their sachems gathered together in the days of aboriginal supremacy, to legislate for the welfare of the race. Here they strengthened and renewed the bonds of friendship and patriotism, indulged in exultation over their advancing prosperity, and counselled together to arrest impending dangers, or repair the mischances of the past. As it was upon the northern bank of the Onondaga lake that the League was formed, the united nations habitually turned to the Onondaga valley as the place to brighten the chain of brotherhood.

Upon the Onondaga river, *O-nun-dä'-ga*, were the principal villages of the Onondagas. There were but three of any note; one of them has been mentioned as on the line of the great trail. The chief village was Onondaga castle, *Kä-nä-tä-gó'-wä*, situated upon both sides of the river, about four miles above *Gis'-twe-ah'-na*. It was quite a populous village in the days of their highest prosperity. Around the council-brand which burned in this secluded place, the sachems of the League were wont to meet. About three miles farther up the river, and upon the west side, the Indian village of *Nan-ta-sä'-sis* was situated near the skirts of the hill. There was another considerable village on the uplands about four miles east of Onondaga castle, called *Tu-e-a-das'-so*. Throughout the whole length

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of the beautiful valley of the Onondaga, the bark houses of the people were sprinkled.

After crossing the valley, the trail passed up a small ravine to the top of the hill, where it took a north-west direction, and crossing the Nine-mile creek, *Us'-te-ka*, at the site of Camillus, *O-yä'-han*, it went up to a stopping-place where Carpenter's tavern was subsequently erected, near the site of Elbridge, *Kä-no-wä'-ya*. From thence fording the Jordan creek, *Ha-nan'-to*, and passing through the town of Sennet, the trail came upon the Owasco outlet, *Was'-co*, at the site of Auburn; and forded this stream a short distance above the prison, at the point where the "Red Store" was subsequently erected. This locality was in the territory of the Cayugas, and its name signifies "a floating bridge."

The Cayugas had but a few small villages, as the people were scattered around the lake. Their principal village, *Gä-yä-gä-an'-ha*, was situated upon the bank of a creek three miles south of Union Springs, and about a mile and a half back from the lake. Here was the council-house of the nation. There was another village consisting of a few houses, situated upon the site of Union Springs, which was called *Ge-wau'-ga*. Steeltrap, *Hise'-tä-jee*, a celebrated Cayuga chief, was buried here. On the opposite side of the lake was the village of *Gä-no'-geh*, occupying the site of the present Cannoga. Near this village was the birthplace of Red Jacket. Along the eastern margin of the lake, the former residences of the Cayugas were indicated by the apple and peach orchards which they left behind them. Back from the lake, upon the ridge, similar but more numerous evidences

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of Indian occupation were to be found. In 1779, the villages of the Cayugas were destroyed by General Sullivan.

Leaving the site of Auburn, the trail proceeded nearly on the line of the turnpike, half-way to the lake, where it turned out upon the south side and came down upon the lake about half a mile above Cayuga bridge, *Wäs-gwase'*. At the precise point where the trail reached the shore, the original Cayuga ferry was established. The trail, turning down the lake, and following its bank about four miles to the old fording-place near the lower bridge, there crossed the foot of the lake, and came out upon the north bank of the Seneca river, *Swa'-geh*.¹ Following up the north bank of the river, it passed over the site of Waterloo, *Skoi-yase'*, and pursued the stream up to its outlet from the Seneca lake. A shorter route from the east bank of the Cayuga was taken by crossing the lake in canoes at the ferry, and proceeding due west to the river, which the trail came upon at the rapids a little above Seneca Falls. Ascending the river upon the south bank, the trail passed through South Waterloo, *Skoi-yase'*, and continued up the river to the lake, where, crossing the outlet, it intersected the other trail. Having run along the foot of the lake upon the beach

¹ There is a geographical novelty in the method adopted by the Iroquois to designate the several outlets of the lakes which, united, form the Oswego river. Descending from the Seneca lake to Oswego, the river was called *Swa'-geh* through its whole length. But ascending from Oswego, it was called the Onondaga river, *O-non-dä'-ga*, until you passed the outlet of the Onondaga lake. Then it was called the Cayuga river, *Gwä-u-gweh*, until you passed the Cayuga outlet. After that it was called the Seneca river, *Gä-nun-dä-sa'-ga*, up to the Seneca lake. (76)

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to the present site of Geneva, *Gä-nun-dä-sa'-ga*, it turned up the Geneva creek, which it ascended about one and a half miles north-west, to the Indian village of *Gä-nun-dä-sa'-ga*, the first in the territory of the Senecas.

This name, which signifies "a new settlement village," was bestowed upon the lake, the creek, and also upon the outlet. At a subsequent day it was transferred to Geneva. During the destructive inroad of General Sullivan, in September, 1779, the Indian village was entirely destroyed. No efforts were ever made subsequently to rebuild it. Many of the old trees in the Indian orchard are still standing and yield fruit, although partially girdled at the time. The artificial burial mound¹ about one hundred paces in

¹ There is an interesting tradition connected with this mound. The Senecas say that they once had a protector, a mighty giant, taller than the tallest trees, who split the largest hickory for his bow, and used pine-trees for his arrows. He once wandered west to the Mississippi, and from thence east again to the sea. Returning homeward over the mountains along the Hudson, he saw a great bird on the water, flapping its wings as if it wished to get out, so he waded in and lifted it on land. He then saw on it a number of men, who appeared dreadfully frightened, and made signs to him to put them back again. He did so, and they gave him a sword and a musket, with powder and balls, and showed him how to use them, after which the bird swam off and he saw it no more. Having returned to the Senecas at *Gä-nun-dä-sa'-ga*, he exhibited to them the wonderful implements of destruction, and fired the gun before them. They were exceedingly terrified at the report, and reproached him for bringing such terrible things among them, and told him to take them away again, for they would be the destruction of the Indians, and he was an enemy to their nation who had brought them there. Much grieved at their reproaches, he left the council, taking the dreaded weapons with him, and lay down in a field. The next morning he was found, from some mysterious cause, dead, and this mound was raised over his body where it lay. It is averred by the Onondagas, that if the mound should be opened a skeleton of supernatural size would be found underneath.

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circuit, still remains undisturbed, and also the trenches of a picket enclosure, seventy by forty feet on the ground plan, concerning the erection and uses of which but little can be ascertained.

From *Gä-nun-dä-sa'-ga* the trail proceeded through the towns of Seneca and Hopewell, nearly on the line of the turnpike, to the Indian village of *Gä'-nun-dä'-gwa*, situated at the foot of the lake of the same name. It signifies "a place selected for a settlement." Canandaigua, the fairest of all the villages which have sprung into life upon the central trail of the Iroquois, not only occupies the site of the Indian village, but has accepted and preserved its name with unusual accuracy; the only legacy which the retiring Seneca could bestow, save the beautiful natural scenery by which it is surrounded, and which induced him "to select it for a settlement." ⁽⁴⁵⁾

Leaving Canandaigua were two trails. One turning south-west, passed through the town of Bristol, and led to the foot of the Honeoye lake, *Hä'-ne-ä-ya'*. After crossing the outlet, it continued west through the town of Richmond, going over the hill in sight of the Hemlock lake, *O-neb'-dä*, and coming out upon the Connesus, *Gä-ne-a'-sos*, near the north end. Following the shore to the foot of the lake, and fording the outlet, it proceeded west, passing over the site of Geneseo, *O-hä'-di*, and crossing the valley and the river Genesee, *Gen-nis'-he-yo*, it led into Little Beards town, *De-o-nun'-dä-gä-a*, the most populous village of the Senecas. It is worthy of remark that the root of the word Genesee was the name of the valley and not of the river, the latter deriving its name from the

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former. *Gen-nis'-he-yo* signifies "the beautiful valley," a name most fitly bestowed.

The other trail, which was the main highway, leaving Canandaigua, passed along the north road, over the site of West Bloomfield, *Gä-nun'-dä-ok*, and the Honeoye outlet, and proceeded to the Indian village of *Skä-basé'-gä-o*, on the site of Lima. From thence, proceeding westward nearly on the line since pursued by the State road, it passed over the site of Avon, *Gä-no-wau'-ges*, and, descending into the valley of the Genesee, crossed the river a few rods above the Avon bridge, and followed along its bank up to the Indian village of *Gä-no-wau'-ges*, about a mile above the ford. This word signifies "fetid waters," and was bestowed by the Senecas upon the sulphur springs at Avon, and upon the whole adjacent country.

Departing from the valley of the Genesee, the trail, taking a north-west direction, led to the Caledonia cold spring, *De-o'-na-gä-no*, a well-known stopping-place on the central trail through the territories of the Iroquois. Proceeding westward from thence, it came upon Allen's creek, *O-at'-kä*, at the dam near the rapids, in the village of Le Roy. This fording-place was known under the name *Te-car'-no-wän-ne-dä'-ne-o*, rendered "many falls," which is accurately descriptive of the locality. This name has been conferred upon Le Roy. After turning up the stream about a mile to avoid a marsh near the rapids, the trail again proceeded west, and crossing Black creek, *Ja-gó'-o-ga*, near Stafford, it continued in a westerly direction, and finally came out upon the Tonawanda creek, *Tä'-nä-wun-dä*, about a mile above Batavia, to

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which it led. The ancient name of Batavia, or rather of the locality itself, was *De-o'-on-go-wä*, which signifies "the grand hearing-place." Here the rapids in the Tonawanda creek first began to be heard, and some assert that the distant roar of Niagara could be heard by the practiced ear of the Indian, at this point, in certain states of the atmosphere.

Descending the creek, the trail passed over the site of Batavia. At the point where the arsenal now stands, it turned north-west through the oak-openings to Caryville, and came again upon the creek at "Washington's fording-place," where it crossed, and led to the Indian village of *Tä'-nä-wun-dä'*, one of the present villages of the Senecas, situated upon the borders of the great swamp which stretches for many miles along the Tonawanda creek. On leaving the Indian village the trail branched. One taking a north-west direction, recrossed the creek at a short distance below the village, and passing through the swamp, out of which it emerged near Royalton, it proceeded direct to *De-o'-na-gä-no*, or the Cold Spring, about two miles north-east of Lockport, *Tä-gä'-ote*. From thence continuing north-west, it came out upon the ridge-road, where it intersected the Ontario, or ridge trail, and followed this ridge westward to *Gä-a-no'-ga*, the Tuscarora Indian village on Lewiston Heights. Here was the termination of one branch of the main trail upon the bank of the Niagara river. This was the route to Canada.^(44, 42)

The other trail, leaving the village of Tonawanda, took a south-west direction, and having forded Murder creek, *De-o-oon-go'-at*, at Akron, and the

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Eighteen-mile creek, *Ta-nun-no-ga'-o*, at Clarence Hollow, it continued west, crossing Ellicott creek, *Gă-dă-o-yă'-deh*, at Williamsville, *Gă-sko-să-dă'-ne-o*, and leading direct to the Cold Spring, it finally came upon the site of Buffalo at the head of Main street, and descended to the mouth of the creek, within the limits of the city. Here was the western terminus of the central trail; and like its eastern terminus on the Hudson, it has become a point of great commercial importance, and the site of a flourishing city. It is not a little remarkable, that these two geographical points should have been as clearly indicated, as places of departure, by the migrations of the red race, as they have been at a subsequent day, by the migrations of our own.

We have thus followed the great Indian trail, *Wă-a-gwen'-ne-yu*, through the State, from the Hudson to lake Erie; noticing, as far as ascertained, the principal stopping-places on the route. To convey an adequate impression of the forest scenery, which then overspread the land, is beyond the power of description. This trail was traced through the overhanging forest for almost its entire length. In the trail itself, there was nothing particularly remarkable. It was usually from twelve to eighteen inches wide, and deeply worn in the ground; varying in this respect from three to six, and even twelve inches, depending upon the firmness of the soil. The large trees on each side were frequently marked with the hatchet.⁽⁴¹⁾ This well-beaten footpath,⁽⁴¹⁾ which no runner, nor band of warriors could mistake, had doubtless been trodden by successive generations from

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century to century. It had, without question, been handed down from race to race, as the natural line of travel, geographically considered, between the Hudson and lake Erie. While it is scarcely possible to ascertain a more direct route than the one pursued by this trail, the accuracy with which it was traced from point to point, to save distance, is extremely surprising. It proved, on the survey of the country, to have been so judiciously selected that the turnpike was laid out mainly on the line of this trail, from one extremity of the State to the other. In addition to this, all the larger cities and villages west of the Hudson, with one or two exceptions, have been located upon it. As an independent cause, this forest highway of the Iroquois doubtless determined the establishment of a number of settlements, which have since grown up into cities and villages.

There are many interesting considerations connected with the routes of travel pursued by the aborigines; and if carefully considered, they will be found to indicate the natural lines of migration suggested by the topography of the country. The central trail of the Iroquois, which we have been tracing, after leaving the Mohawk valley, one of nature's highways, became essentially an artificial road across the drainage of the country, fording rivers, crossing valleys, and traversing marshes and dense forests, pursuing its course over hill and plain, through stream and thicket, as if in defiance of nature, without an aim and without a reason. Yet the establishment of this trail between two such points as Albany and Buffalo, exhibits not only the extent

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and accuracy of the geographical knowledge of our predecessors,⁽⁶⁾ but also indicates the active intercourse which must have been maintained between the various races east of the Mississippi. The tide of population which has poured upon the west, in our generation, mostly along the line of this old trail of the *Ho-de'-no-sau-nee*, and the extraordinary channel of trade and intercourse which it has become, between the north-western States and the Atlantic, sufficiently and forcibly illustrate the fact that it was and is, and ever must be, one of the great natural highways of the continent.

Having traced the main trail from the Hudson to lake Erie, it remains to notice briefly the lake and river trails, and to locate such Indian villages as were situated upon them. In pursuing this inquiry, the Ontario trail first arrests our attention. Bordering lake Ontario, from Oswego to Lewiston, there is a ridge running, for the entire distance, from three to six miles inland from the shore, and mostly a continuous level. From the shore-marks everywhere conspicuous, it is generally admitted that this ridge was anciently the shore of the lake, the basin of which has been depressed some three hundred feet, or the surrounding country elevated by subterraneous agencies. A natural road is formed by this ancient beach from Oswego to Lewiston. From the valley of Genesee to Niagara, it was extensively travelled by the Iroquois, as one of the routes to Canada.

Oswego, *Swa'-geh*, was a point of considerable importance to our predecessors, both as the terminus of the trails which descended the river from the Onondaga and Oneida country, and as the inlet of

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intercourse by water from lake Ontario. Commencing at the site of this place, the trail followed the ridge to the westward, until it came upon the Irondequoit bay, *Nu-dă-on'-dă-quät*, when it turned up the bay to its head. From the head of the bay, the trail turned back from the ridge, and proceeded direct to the Genesee ford, at Rochester, *Gă-sko'-sä-go*, which crossed the river at the point where the aqueduct has since been constructed. Turning down the river to the lower falls, it came again upon the ridge-road, which it followed westward to *Gă-o-no'-geh*, the Tuscarora village near Lewiston. Here was the principal crossing-place into Canada.

Having now reached the banks of the Niagara, and the vicinity of the great cataract, the derivation of the word Niagara suggests itself as a subject for inquiry. Colden wrote it *O-ni-ag-a-ra*, in 1741,¹ and he must have received it from the Mohawks or Oneidas. It was the name of a Seneca village at the mouth of the Niagara river, located as early as 1650, near the site of Youngstown. It was also the place where the Marquis De Nonville constructed a fort in 1687, the building of which brought this locality under the particular notice of the English. The name of this Indian village in the dialect of the Senecas was *Ne-ah'-gä*, in Tuscarora *O-ne-ă'-kars*, in Onondaga *O-ne-ah'-gä*, in Oneida *O-ne-ah'-gäle*, and in Mohawk *O-ne-ă'-gä-rä*. These names are but the same word under dialectical changes. It is clear that Niagara was derived from some one of them, and thus came direct from the Iroquois language. The signification of the

¹ Colden's *History of the Five Nations*, ed. of 1741, p. 79.

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word is lost, unless it be derived, as some of the present Iroquois suppose, from the word which signifies "neck," in Seneca *O-ne-ah'-ä*, in Onondaga *O-ne-yä'-ä*, and in Oneida *O-ne'-arle*.¹

The name of this Indian village was bestowed by the Iroquois upon Youngstown; upon the river Niagara, from the falls to the lake; and upon lake Ontario, as has been elsewhere stated.

In bestowing names upon water-falls, the Iroquois custom agrees with the English. The name of the river is connected with the word "fall." In the case of Niagara Falls, however, an adjective is incorporated with the word "fall," as the idea of its grandeur and sublimity appears to have been identified with the fall itself. Thus, in Onondaga it is called *Date-car'-skosis*, in Seneca *Date-car'-sko-sase*, the word *Ne-ah'-gä* being understood. It signifies "the highest falls."

In the broad valley of the Genesee, the Senecas established most of their villages. Of great extent, boundless fertility, and easy cultivation, it became their favorite residence, and fully deserved the appellation of "the beautiful valley," which they bestowed upon it. Its situation in the centre of their territories, and the easily forded river which flowed through it, alike invited to its settlement. At the period of their highest prosperity, it became the most thickly peopled district in the country of the Iroquois.

From Rochester there were two trails up the Genesee, one upon each side. That upon the west side, following the bank of the river, first entered the small

¹ Bancroft is in error in deriving this word from the language of the Neuter Nation.

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Indian village of *O-at'-kă*, upon the site of Scottsville; and continuing up the valley upon the flat, it next passed into the Indian village of *Gă-no-wau'-ges*, before mentioned.¹ From thence the trail pursued the winding of the river up to *O-hă'-gi*, a Tuscarora village on the flat, between two and three miles below Cuylerville. Proceeding up the river, it next led up to the Seneca village of *Gă-un-dô'-wă-neh*, or "big tree," which was situated upon the hill about one mile north of Cuylerville. Here at a subsequent day was marked off to the Senecas the "Big Tree Reservation," in the same manner as they had reserved a tract around the favorite village of *Gă-no-wau'-ges*. Leaving this village, the trail turned a bend in the river, and entered *De-o-nun'-dă-gă-a*, or Little Beard's town, also before mentioned. It was situated upon the flat immediately in front of Cuylerville, and on the opposite side of the valley from Geneseo. Adjacent to this village, upon the sloping bank, was a small settlement called *Gă-neh'-dă-on-twă*. There was also an Indian village upon the site of Moscow, *Gă-nun'-dă-sa*. The trail, following up the river, next turned out of this valley, and led up to *Da-yo-it'-gă-o*, or Squakie Hill, opposite Mount Morris. This word signifies "where the river issues from the hills," and it is beautifully descriptive of the emergence of the river from between its rocky barriers into the broad valley of the Genesee.

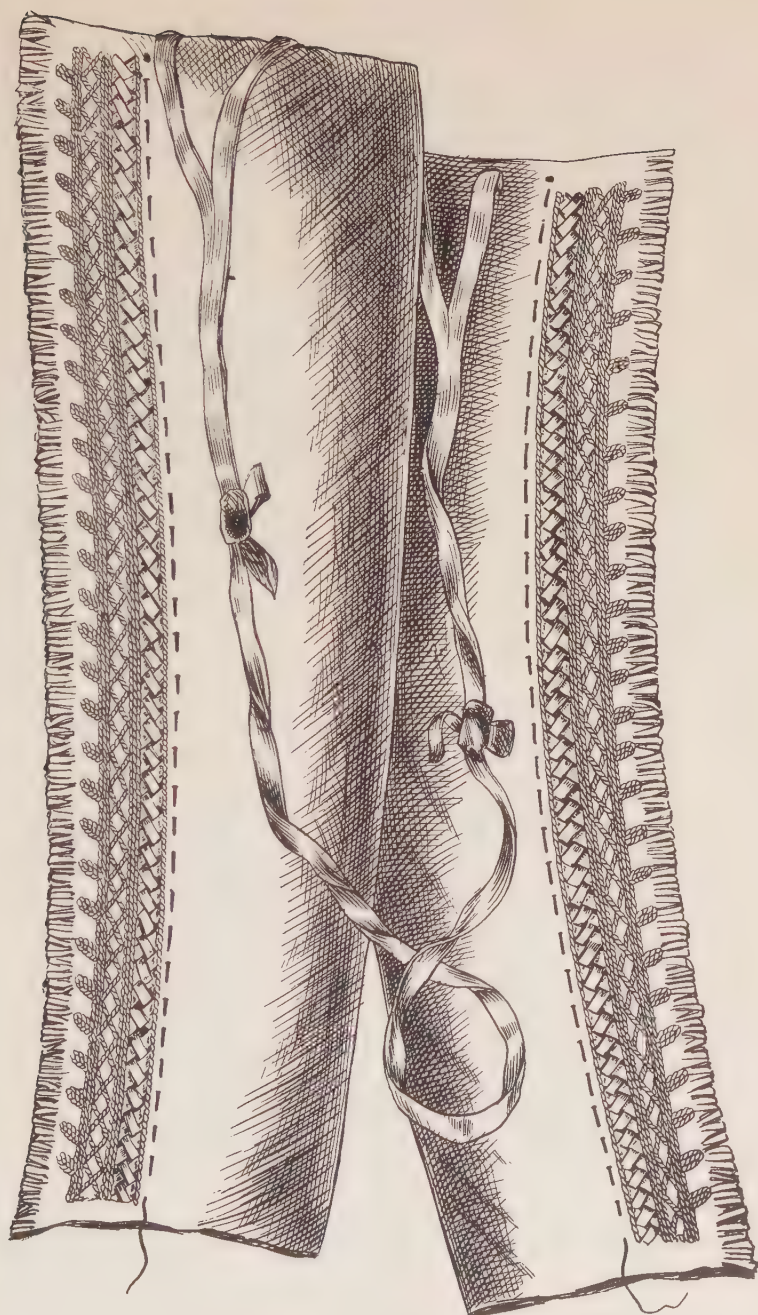
It is a singular feature of the country, geologically considered, that the valley follows the river from near Rochester to Mount Morris only. At the latter place the river is suddenly confined in a narrow channel cut

¹ Mr. Newbold's farm embraces the site of this ancient village.

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through the rock, while the valley, which at this place is about three miles wide, follows the Canaseraga creek, *Gä-nosé-gă-go*, up to Dansville, situated at its head. From Mount Morris south, up the Genesee, the valley is narrow and irregular, until at Portage the whole scenery is changed into rugged declivities and picturesque water-falls. On the Canaseraga creek, however, from Dansville down to Mount Morris, the scenery and the valley are quite the same as upon the Genesee from the latter place to Rochester. This "beautiful valley" of the Senecas, varying from one half mile to three miles in breadth, for the distance of forty miles, vies with, if it does not surpass, the more celebrated valley of Wyoming.

Leaving Squakie Hill, the trail continued up the river, crossing the outlet of the Silver lake, *Gä-na'-yät*, and entering the Indian village of *Gä-da-o'*, situated in the town of Castile, Genesee county. Here, at a subsequent day, was the Gardow Reservation. From thence the trail continued up the river, and over the site of Portage, to the Indian village of *O-wa-is'-ki*, near the confluence of the creek of the same name with the Genesee. Having crossed this stream, the trail led up the river to *Gä-o-yä-dé-o*, or Caneadea, the last Seneca village upon the Genesee. It was situated in the town of Hume, in the county of Allegany. The name is rendered, "the heavens leaning against the earth." It appears that there was an extensive opening at this locality, on looking through which the heavens and earth appeared to meet, or the sky seemed to rest upon the earth. Subsequently, there was a large reserve retained by the Senecas around this



GISE-HA or DEER SKIN LEGGING

GENESEE TRAIL

village, which is still marked upon old maps as the "Caneadea Reservation." In this manner may be discovered the favorite residences of the Senecas upon the river. The Genesee trail, which we have been tracing, was one of the routes to the Allegany river, *O-hee'-yo*, for those who sought to descend that stream towards the south-west.

O-hee'-yo, the radix of the word Ohio, signifies "the beautiful river;" and the Iroquois, by conferring it upon the Allegany, or head branch of the Ohio, have not only fixed a name from their language upon one of the great rivers of the continent, but indirectly upon one of the noblest States of our Confederacy.

The trail upon the east side of the Genesee, started from the ford, near the aqueduct, at Rochester, and turning a little back from the river, crossed Mount Hope. To commemorate the fact, one of the principal carriage-ways through the cemetery, which was laid upon the line of the trail, has been named "Indian Trail Avenue." Ascending the Genesee, it followed the windings of the river up to Mount Morris, *So-no'-jo-wau-ga*, where there was a small Indian village, the only one upon the east bank of the river. *So-no'-jo-wau-ga*, or Big Kettle, a Seneca orator, scarcely inferior to Red Jacket in the estimation of the nation, erected his sylvan house upon the site of Mount Morris; and the Senecas bestowed his name upon the cluster of houses which sprung up around him, and at a subsequent day upon Mount Morris itself, one of the most attractive villages in the region of the Genesee.

From thence there were two trails up the Canaseraga

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creek, *Gä-nose'-gă-go*, one upon each side. They led up to the small Indian village of *Gä-nose'-gă-go*, situate upon the site of Dansville, at the head of the valley.

Leaving the Genesee country, we come next to a system of trails which point to the southward. The Susquehanna and its branches penetrated the country of the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas on the east and north, while the Chemung and its branches flowed through the territory of the Senecas, from near the Genesee, upon the north-west. These rivers, by their junction at Tioga, form as it were a triangle, having Tioga point as its apex, and the central trail through the State, from east to west, as its base. Following the course of these numerous streams from the north-east and north-west, these several trails converged upon Tioga, and descending the Susquehanna, formed the Great Southern trail, or highway of travel and migration into the south. The trails upon the Iroquois lakes, which lay north and south, in a measure connected the Central with the Susquehanna trail. Within this triangle were seated the Mohawk, Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga, Cayuga, and a part of the Seneca Nations.

These trails running upon the banks of the rivers, which are the highways fashioned by the hand of nature, need not be minutely traced, as they followed the windings of the streams. A trail descended the Conhocton river, *Gä-ha'-to*, to Tioga, *Tä-yä'-o-ga*. The convergence of so many trails upon this point, preparatory to a descent upon the south, through Pennsylvania, and into Virginia on the west side of

CONHOCTON TRAIL

the Blue Ridge, rendered it an important and well-known locality among the Iroquois.

From Tioga there were two trails up the Susquehanna, *Gă-wa-no-wă'-nă*. That upon the north bank ascending the river, passed over the site of Owego, *Ah-wa'-ga*, forded the Chenango, *O-che-năng'*, near its mouth, and passing over the site of Binghampton, *O-che-năng'*, continued up the river to the junction of the Unadilla, *De-u-na-dil'-lo*, where it intersected the trail coming down from the Oneida country. Continuing up the Susquehanna to the junction of the Charlotte river, the trail branched. One ascended to the junction of the Cherry Valley creek, and following up this creek, finally passed over to Canajoharie. The other trail, having ascended the Charlotte river to its head, crossed over to the Cobuskill, *As-ca-lé'-ge*, and descended that stream to the Schoharie creek, where it intersected the Schoharie trail, from the lower castle of the Mohawks. From Schoharie, *Ose-ko-har'-lă*, a branch trail turned up Foxes creek, and crossing the Helderberg hills, descended to Albany. Another branch leaving the Schoharie, crossed the town of Middleburgh to the Caatskill river, and descended that river to the Hudson.

Many of the early settlers of middle Pennsylvania, and nearly all of our people who located themselves on the fertile tracts spread out upon the Susquehanna, entered the country upon these trails, which were the only roads opened through the forest. They trusted entirely for their route to the well-beaten, well-selected trails of the Iroquois. The same observation applies to the central trail, which before the opening of

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regular roads, was traversed by the early pioneers of western New York, with their horses, cattle, and implements of husbandry. For many years this trail was the only route of travel. It guided the early immigrants into the heart of the country, and not a little were they indebted to the Iroquois for thus making their country accessible.

There were also regular beaten trails along the banks of our inland lakes, which were used for hunting purposes, for mutual intercourse, and as routes of communication between the central thoroughfare, and the river trails which converged upon Tioga.

We have thus followed the devious footsteps of the Iroquois, for many hundred miles through their territories, and restored some of the names in use during the era of Indian occupation. Facts of this character may not possess a general interest; but they will find an appropriate place among our aboriginal remains. The trails of our Indian predecessors, indeed, have been obliterated, and the face of nature has been transformed; but all recollection of the days of Indian supremacy cannot as easily pass away. They will ever have "a share in our history."

"The Empire State, as you love to call it," said a Cayuga chief on a recent occasion, "was once laced by our trails from Albany to Buffalo, — trails that we had trod for centuries, — trails worn so deep by the feet of the Iroquois, that they became your roads of travel, as your possessions gradually eat into those of my people. Your roads still traverse those same lines of communication, which bound one part of the



YUNT KATO DA TA OR DEER SKIN SHOULDER BELT

INDIAN RUNNERS

Long House to the other. Have we, the first holders of this prosperous region, no longer a share in your history? Glad were your fathers to sit down upon the threshold of the Long House. Had our forefathers spurned you from it, when the French were thundering at the opposite side to get a passage through, and drive you into the sea, whatever has been the fate of other Indians, the Iroquois might still have been a nation, and I, instead of pleading here for the privilege of living within your borders, I — might have had a country.”¹

A brief reference to Indian runners will not be inappropriate in this connection. To convey intelligence from nation to nation, and to spread information throughout the Confederacy, as in summoning councils upon public exigencies, trained runners were employed. But three days were necessary, it is said, to convey intelligence from Buffalo to Albany. Swiftmess of foot was an acquirement, among the Iroquois, which brought the individual into high repute. A trained runner would traverse a hundred miles per day. With

¹ “The eloquent speech, of which the above is an extract, was an unpremeditated effort of Dr. Peter Wilson (Wā-o-wo-wā-no-onk), an educated chief, and was delivered at the May, 1847, meeting of the New York Historical Society, at which he chanced to be present. The substance of the present chapter and of Chapter II. of Book I. of this work being a paper entitled ‘On the Territorial Limits, Geographical Names, and Trails of the Iroquois,’ had just been read before the society, when under the impulse of the moment this chief accepted an invitation to address the meeting. He spoke with such pathos and earnestness upon his people and race — their ancient prowess and generosity — their present weakness and dependence — and especially upon the hard fate of a small band of Senecas and Cayugas, which had recently been hurried into the western wilderness to perish, that all present were deeply moved by his eloquence. He produced a strong sensation.”

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relays, which were sometimes resorted to, the length of the day's journey could be considerably increased. It is said that the runners of Montezuma conveyed intelligence to him of the movements of Cortes, at the rate of two hundred miles per day; but this must be regarded as extravagant. During the last war, a runner left Tonawanda at daylight in the summer season, for Avon, a distance of forty miles upon the trail. He delivered his message, and reached Tonawanda again about noon. In the night their runners were guided by the stars, from which they learned to keep their direction, and regain it, if perchance they lost their way. During the fall and winter, they determined their course by the Pleiades, or Seven Stars. This group in the neck of Taurus, they called *Got-gwär'-där*. In the spring and summer they ran by another group, which they named *Gwe-o-gä'-ah*, or the Loon, four stars at the angles of a rhombus. In preparing to carry messages they denuded themselves entirely, with the exception of the *Gä-kä'-ah*, or breech cloth, and a belt. They were usually sent out in pairs, and took their way through the forest, one behind the other, in perfect silence.

Upon the map accompanying the first volume of this work, the trails which have been traced will be found.⁽⁴²⁾ Also the names in the several dialects of the Iroquois, of the lakes, rivers, and creeks; of the Indian villages, and ancient localities, known to our immediate predecessors; and the names of our own cities and villages, which have been christened as they appeared.¹

¹ In Appendix A, I, will be found a schedule containing all the names upon the Map, with the signification of each, arranged under their respective counties.

SUPERIORITY OF THE IROQUOIS

This map is newly designed, to exhibit the Home Country of the *Ho-de'-no-sau-nee*.

The Iroquois were the master spirits of the north. Fortunate in their geographical position, and powerful from the concentration of their strength through the League, the lesser tribes scattered over these vast territories could offer but slight obstruction to their combined attack. Large masses, like the Sioux of the west, or the Cherokees of the south, were alone able to withstand their valor, or resist their invasions. In comparison with other Indian nations, the Iroquois might well exult in the superiority of their institutions; and felicitate themselves upon the high destiny which seemed to await the full development of their civil institutions.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Chapter IV

Future Destiny of the Indian — His Reclamation — Schools of the Missionaries — The Christian Party — Schools of the State — Future Citizenship — Their Indebtedness to Missionaries — Rights of Property — Injustice of Neglect — System of Superintendence — Duty of the American People — The Indian Department

THE future destiny of the Indian upon this continent, is a subject of no ordinary interest.

If the fact, that he cannot be saved in his native state, needed any proof beyond the experience of the past, it could be demonstrated from the nature of things. Our primitive inhabitants are environed with civilized life, the baleful and disastrous influence of which, when brought in contact with Indian life, is wholly irresistible. Civilization is aggressive, as well as progressive — a positive state of society, attacking every obstacle, overwhelming every lesser agency, and searching out and filling up every crevice, both in the moral and physical world ; while Indian life is an unarmed condition, a negative state, without inherent vitality, and without powers of resistance. The institutions of the red man fix him to the soil with a fragile and precarious tenure ; while those of civilized man, in his highest estate, enable him to seize it with a grasp which defies displacement. To uproot a race at the meridian of its intellectual power, is next to impossible ; but the expulsion of a contiguous one, in a state of

FUTURE DESTINY OF THE INDIAN

primitive rudeness, is comparatively easy, if not an absolute necessity.

The manifest destiny of the Indian, if left to himself, calls up the question of his reclamation, certainly, in itself, a more interesting and far more important subject than any which have before been considered. All the Indian races now dwelling within the Republic have fallen under its jurisdiction ; thus casting upon the government a vast responsibility, as the administrator of their affairs, and a solemn trust, as the guardian of their future welfare. Should the system of tutelage and supervision, adopted by the national government, find its highest aim and ultimate object in the adjustment of their present difficulties from day to day ; or should it look beyond and above these temporary considerations, towards their final elevation to the rights and privileges of American citizens ? This is certainly a grave question, and if the latter enterprise itself be feasible, it should be prosecuted with a zeal and energy as earnest and untiring as its importance demands. During the period within which this question will be solved, the American people cannot remain indifferent and passive spectators, and avoid responsibility ; for while the government is chiefly accountable for the administration of their civil affairs, those of a moral and religious character, which, at least, are not less important, appeal to the enlightened benevolence of the public at large.

Whether a portion of the Indian family may yet be reclaimed and civilized, and thus saved eventually from the fate which has already befallen so many of our aboriginal races, will furnish the theme of a few

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concluding reflections. What is true of the Iroquois, in a general sense, can be predicated of any other portion of our primitive inhabitants. For this reason the facts relied upon to establish the hypothesis that the Indian can be permanently reclaimed and civilized, will be drawn exclusively from the social history of the former.

There are now about four thousand Iroquois living in the state of New York. Having for many years been surrounded by civilization, and shut in from all intercourse with the ruder tribes of the wilderness, they have not only lost their native fierceness, but have become quite tractable and humane. In addition to this, the agricultural pursuits into which they have gradually become initiated, have introduced new modes of life, and awakened new aspirations, until a change, in itself scarcely perceptible to the casual observer, but in reality very great, has already been accomplished. At the present moment their decline has not only been arrested, but they are actually increasing in numbers,⁽⁵⁹⁾ and improving in their social condition. The proximate cause of this universal spectacle is to be found in their feeble attempts at agriculture; but the remote and the true one is to be discovered in the schools of the missionaries.

To these establishments among the Iroquois, from the days of the Jesuit fathers down to the present time, they are principally indebted for all the progress they have made, and for whatever prospect of ultimate reclamation their condition is beginning to inspire. By the missionaries they were taught our language, and many of the arts of husbandry and of domestic



GÄ-YÄ-AH OR WORK BAG

SCHOOLS OF THE MISSIONARIES

life ; from them they received the Bible and the precepts of Christianity. After the lapse of so many years, the fruits of their toil and devotion are becoming constantly more apparent : as, through years of slow and almost imperceptible progress, they have gradually emancipated themselves from much of the rudeness of Indian life. The Iroquois of the present day is, in his social condition, elevated far above the Iroquois of the seventeenth century. This fact is sufficient to prove, that philanthropy and Christianity are not wasted upon the Indian ; and further than this, that the Iroquois, if eventually reclaimed, must ascribe their preservation to the persevering and devoted efforts of those missionaries, who labored for their welfare when they were injured and defrauded by the unscrupulous, neglected by the civil authorities, and oppressed by the multitude of misfortunes which accelerated their decline.

There are but two means of rescuing the Indian from his impending destiny ; and these are education and Christianity. If he will receive into his mind the light of knowledge and the spirit of civilization, he will possess, not only the means of self-defence, but the power with which to emancipate himself from the thralldom in which he is held. The frequent attempts which have been made to educate the Indian, and the numerous failures in which these attempts have eventuated, have, to some extent, created a belief in the public mind, that his education and reclamation are both impossible. This enterprise may still, perhaps, be considered an experiment, and of uncertain issue ; but experience has not yet shown that it is hopeless.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

There is now, in each Indian community in the State, a large and respectable class who have become habitual cultivators of the soil ; many of whom have adopted our mode of life, have become members of the missionary churches, speak our language, and are in every respect discreet and sensible men. In this particular class there is a strong desire for the adoption of the customs of civilized life, and more especially for the education of their children, upon which subject they often express the strongest solicitude. Among the youth who are brought up under such influences, there exists the same desire for knowledge, and the same readiness to improve educational advantages. Out of this class Indian youth may be selected for a higher education, with every prospect of success, since to a better preparation for superior advantages, there is superadded a stronger security against a relapse into Indian life. In the attempted education of their young men, the prime difficulty has been to render their attainments permanent, and useful to themselves. To draw an untutored Indian from his forest home, and, when carefully educated, to dismiss him again to the wilderness, a solitary scholar, would be an idle experiment ; because his attainments would not only be unappreciated by his former associates, but he would incur the hazard of being despised because of them. The education of the Indian youth should be general, and chiefly in schools at home.

A new order of things has recently become apparent among the Iroquois, which is favorable to a more general education at home and to a higher cultivation

THE CHRISTIAN PARTY

in particular instances. The schools of the missionaries, established as they have been, and are, in the heart of our Indian communities, have reached the people directly, and laid the only true and solid foundation of their permanent improvement. They have created a new society in the midst of them, founded upon Christianity; thereby awakening new desires, creating new habits, and arousing new aspirations. In fact they have gathered together the better elements of Indian society, and quickened them with the light of religion and of knowledge. A class has thus been gradually formed, which if encouraged and strengthened, will eventually draw over to itself that portion of our Indian population which is susceptible of improvement and elevation, and willing to make the attempt. Under the fostering care of the government, both state and national, and under the still more efficient tutelage of religious societies, great hopes may be justly entertained of the ultimate and permanent civilization of this portion of the Iroquois.

It is, indeed, a great undertaking to work off the Indian temper of mind, and infuse that of another race. It is necessary, to its accomplishment, to commence in infancy, and at the missionary school, where our language is substituted for the Indian language, our religion for the Indian mythology, and our amusements and mode of life for theirs. When this has been effected, and upon a mind thus prepared has been shed the light of a higher knowledge, there is not even then a firm assurance that the Indian nature is forever subdued and submerged in that superior one which civilization creates. In the depths of Indian

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society there is a spirit and a sentiment to which their minds are attuned by nature; and great must be the power, and constant the influence which can overcome the one, or eradicate the other.

In the education of the Iroquois, New York has recently made a commencement. Prior to 1846 our Indian youth were excluded from the benefits of the common school fund; their want of preparation for such schools, furnishing, to some extent, a sufficient reason. At that time schools were first opened among them under appropriations from the public fund. These schools have not met with encouraging success; but their efficiency would have been much greater if they had been organized upon the boarding-school or missionary plan, instead of that of the common school. The former is the more practicable and successful system of Indian education; and it is greatly to be hoped that it will soon be adopted. To meet the growing demand for a higher education, the State Normal School, within the past year, has not only been opened to a limited number of Indian youth, but a sufficient appropriation made for their maintenance while improving its advantages. These two important events form an interesting era with the modern Iroquois. It remains only to give them permanent boarding-schools at home for the instruction of the mass of their youth, with access to the Normal School for their advanced scholars, and in a few years they will rise in the scale of intelligence, as far above their present level, as their fathers raised themselves, in the days of aboriginal sovereignty, above the level of cotemporary nations.



GOT-CWEN-DÄ OR POCKET BOOK.

SCHOOLS OF THE STATE

In addition to the special claim which the residue of the Iroquois have upon the people of the State, every principle of philanthropy pleads for the encouragement of their young men in their efforts to obtain a higher course of instruction than the limited earnings of Indian husbandry can afford. The time has come, in their social progress, when they are capable of a thorough intellectual training, and are able to achieve as high and accurate a scholarship as many of their white competitors. The time has also arrived when academical attainments will prove a blessing to themselves and to their families. By the diffusion of knowledge among them the way will be facilitated for the introduction of the mechanic arts, and for their improvement in agricultural pursuits. A small band of educated young men in each Indian community would find sufficient employment for their acquired capacities, in the various stations of teacher, physician, mechanic, and farmer; in each and all of which they would greatly promote the general welfare. If the desire for improvement, which now prevails among them, is met and encouraged, it will require but a few years to initiate them into the arts of civilized life, and to prepare them eventually for exercising those rights of property, and rights of citizenship, which are common to ourselves. How much more noble for the State to reclaim and save this interesting and peculiar portion of her people, than to accelerate their extinction by injustice; or to abandon them to their fate, when they are struggling to emancipate themselves by taking into their hands the implements of

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agriculture, and opening their minds to the light of knowledge.

There is no want of sympathy for their welfare among the people of New York; on the contrary, there is a wide-spread and deep-seated interest in their future reclamation. Whatever can be done to ameliorate their condition, and encourage that portion who have commenced the work of their own improvement, would receive the warmest commendation. If the Indian puts forth his hand for knowledge, he asks for the only blessing which we can give him in exchange for his birthright, which is worthy of his acceptance.

The education and christianization of the Iroquois is a subject of too much importance, in a civil aspect, to be left exclusively to the limited and fluctuating means of religious societies. The schools established and sustained among them by private benevolence, are, to the Indian, almost the same as common schools to our own people; and without them the Indian would, in times past, have been denied all means of instruction. These schools bring together the youth for elementary tuition, as a necessary preparation for moral and religious training. While there, they adopt, in all respects, the habits of civilized life, are taught our language, and the more simple elementary studies. In so far, it would be but a just act of public beneficence to allow those pupils to draw the same share of public money which falls to the other children of the State. A system of public Indian education, upon such a plan as their circumstances demand, should either be adopted by

THEIR INDEBTEDNESS TO MISSIONARIES

the State ; or a portion of the public money, bearing some proportion to the number of Indian pupils, should be placed at the disposal of the local missionary, to be expended with an equal portion contributed by private benevolence, or by the Indians themselves. It is time that our Indian youth were regarded, in all respects, as a part of the children of the State, and brought under such a system of tutelage as that relation would impose.

The vast extent of the religious enterprises of the present day has tended to draw the attention of the Christian world away from the Indian, into fields more distant, and perhaps more attractive. During the past sixty years, the Iroquois have received but a small share of the Christian watchfulness to which their wants entitled them. Faithful and zealous missionaries, it is true, have labored among them, producing results far greater than is generally believed ; but the inadequate scale upon which these missions were organized, and the fluctuations in their efficiency, which were inseparable from their irregular and limited supplies, have prevented them from carrying forward their work to its full completion. But whatever has been done, is chiefly to be ascribed to them, and to the denominations which they represent.

Too much cannot be said of the teachableness of the Indian, and of his aptitude to learn, when subjected to systematic discipline. If the same means and the same influences which are employed to educate and elevate the mass of our own people, and without the constant application of which, they them-

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selves would soon fall into ignorance, were brought to bear upon our Indian population, they would rise under it with a rapidity which would excite both surprise and admiration. Instances are not wanting, among the present Iroquois, of attainments in scholarship which would do credit to any student. To give employment to those Indian youth whose acquired capacities would enable them to fill stations of trust and profit among ourselves, is another species of encouragement which commends itself to the generous mind. Both in our civil and social relations with the red men, we regard them as a distinct and separate class; when in each of these relations they should not only be regarded as our fellow-men, but as a part of our own people. Born upon the soil, the descendants of its ancient proprietors, there is no principle which should make them aliens in the land of their nativity, or exclude them from any of those advantages which are reserved to ourselves. So far as they are able to appreciate and enjoy the same privileges which pertain to the mass of the people, the claim for participation which their situation silently puts forth should not be disregarded.

The lands of the Iroquois are still held in common, the title being vested in the people. Their progress towards a higher agricultural life has rendered this ancient tenure a source of inconvenience; although they are not as yet prepared for their division among the people. Each individual can improve and enclose any portion of their common domain, and sell or retain such improvements, in the same manner as with personal property; but they have no power to transfer



GÄ-SWÄ-HOS-HÄ OR BABY FRAME BELT.

RIGHTS OF PROPERTY

the title to the land to each other, or to strangers.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ As early as the reign of James the Second, the right of purchasing Indian lands was made a government right exclusively, by royal proclamation, and it proved such a necessary shield against the rapacity of speculators, that this humane provision is still retained as a law in all the States of the Union, and by the national government. When the Iroquois reach such a stable position, as agriculturists, as to make it safe to divide their lands among the several families of each nation, with the power of alienation, it will give to them that stimulus and ambition which separate rights of property are so well calculated to produce. The present system has at least the merit of saving all the people from poverty and vagrancy, if it does not enable a portion of them to become thrifty and substantial agriculturists. The first step towards the amelioration of their condition in this particular, would be a division among themselves, with the power of alienation to each other, under such restrictions as would be adapted to the case. This would serve to prepare the way for other changes, until finally they could be restored, with safety to themselves, not only to the full possession of those rights of property which are common to ourselves, but also to the rights and privileges of citizens of the State. When this time arrives, they will cease to be Indians, except in name.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The progressive elevation of our Indian population, here indicated, if carried to a successful result, would save but a portion of the Indian family; but that portion would become, in every respect, as use-

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ful and respectable as any other portion of our people. They would neither be wanting in ability, nor morality, nor public spirit; and perhaps it is not too much to conjecture, that specimens of the highest genius, and of the most conspicuous talent, hereafter destined to figure in the civil history of our Republic, may spring from the ranks of the Indian citizens.

On the other hand, if they are left, unencouraged and unassisted, to struggle against their adverse destiny — or, more fatal still, if they are subjected to a false and unjust system of superintendence, the whole Indian family will ere long fade away, and finally become enshrouded in the same regretful sepulchre in which the races of New England lie entombed.

The present system of national supervision is evidently temporary in its plans and purposes, and designed for the administration of our Indian affairs with the least possible inconvenience, rather than for their ultimate reclamation, to be followed by the bestowment of citizenship. It carries, upon all its features, the impression, that the presence of the Indian upon this continent is temporary; and that he must inevitably surrender the remainder of his possessions, when he shall have become surrounded by the white man, and the summons be sent in for the customary capitulation. The sentiment which this system proclaims is not as emphatic as that emblazoned upon the Roman policy towards the Carthaginians — *Carthago est delenda*, — “Carthage must be destroyed:” but it reads in not less significant characters — *The destiny of the Indian is exter-*

SYSTEM OF SUPERINTENDENCE

mination. This sentiment, which is so wide-spread as to have become a general theme for school-boy declamation, is not only founded upon erroneous views, but it has been prejudicial to the Indian himself. If, then, public opinion and the national policy are both wrong upon these great questions, or if there are even strong grounds for suspecting them to be so, it becomes an act of justice, as well as of duty, to correct the one, and change the other. Our Indian relations, from the foundation of the Republic to the present moment, have been administered with reference to the ultimate advantage of the government itself; while the reclamation of the Indian has been a secondary object, if it ever entered into the calculation in the slightest degree. Millions of money, it is true, have been expended, and some show of justice preserved in their complicated affairs; but in all prominent negotiations the profit has been on the side of the government, and the loss on that of the Indian. In addition to this, instances of sharp-sighted diplomacy, of ungenerous coercion, and of grievous injustice, are to be found in the journal of our Indian transactions—a perpetual stigma upon the escutcheon of our Republic. If references are demanded to the paragraphs, the reader may turn to that upon the Seminoles, or to the Georgia Cherokee treaty, executed by the government, or to the more recent treaties with the Iroquois themselves, in which the government bartered away its integrity, to minister to the rapacious demands of the Ogden Land Company.^(4, 30)

Jefferson made the civilization of the Indian a

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subject of profound consideration, and a favorite element of the national policy during his administration. Washington, at a still earlier period, regarded the future welfare of the Indian with deep solicitude. In founding the first system of intercourse and superintendence, he was guided by the most enlightened principles of justice and benevolence; and, to such a degree were the Iroquois, in particular, impressed with the goodness and beneficence of his character, that they not only bestowed upon him, in common with other Indian nations, the appellation of *father*, but to this day he is known among them as "the Great American." The aggressive spirit of the people, however, in connection with the slight estimation in which Indian rights were held, has ever been found too powerful an element to be stayed. It has had free course during the last sixty years, until the whole territory east of the Mississippi, with inconsiderable exceptions, has been swept from the Indian. This fact renders any argument superfluous, to show that within this period the reclamation and preservation of the red man has formed no part of the public policy.

But with the same period the moral elements of society have been developed and strengthened to such a degree as to work a change in public sentiment. A kindlier feeling towards the Indian is everywhere apparent, joined with an unwillingness to allow him to be urged into further extremities. He has been sufficiently the victim of adverse fortune, to be entitled to a double portion of the interest and assistance of the philanthropist; and a new day, it is to be hoped, has already dawned upon his prospects.

DUTY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

It cannot be forgotten, that in after years our Republic must render an account, to the civilized world, for the disposal which it makes of the Indian. It is not sufficient, before this tribunal, to plead inevitable destiny ; but it must be shown affirmatively, that no principles of justice were violated, no efforts were left untried to rescue them from their perilous position. After all has been accomplished which the utmost efforts of philanthropy, and the fullest dictates of wisdom can suggest, there will still be sufficient to lament, in the unpropitious fate of the larger portion of the Indian family. It is the great office of the American people, first, to shield them against future aggression, and then to mature such a system of supervision and tutelage, as will ultimately raise them from the rudeness of Indian life, and prepare them for the enjoyment of those rights and privileges which are common to ourselves.⁽¹²⁸⁾

To the Indian Department of the national government, the wardship of the whole Indian family is, in a great measure, committed ; thus placing it in a position of high responsibility. If any discrimination could be made between the several departments of the government, this should be guided by the most enlightened justice, the most considerate philanthropy. Great is the trust reposed, for it involves the character of the white race, and the existence of the red. May it ever be quickened to duty by a vivid impression of its responsibilities, and never violate, for any consideration, the sacred trust committed to its charge.

The profoundly truthful sentiment of Cicero, "without the highest justice a republic cannot be

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

governed," furnishes a text eminently worthy of being studied in this connection. It would form an apt inscription, to be written over the doorway of the Indian Department —

"Sine summa justitia Rempubicam regi non posse."

Appendix A

Appendix A

I

SCHEDULE EXPLANATORY OF THE INDIAN MAP ¹

VOWEL MARKS.

ä sounded as in far.	ē sounded as in met.
ā sounded as in at.	ī sounded as in pine.
â sounded as in fall.	ö sounded as in tone.

HO'-DE'-NO-SAU-NEE'-GA,

TERRITORIES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE LONG HOUSE.

Gä-neä-ga-o-no'-ga,	Territory of the Mohawks.
O-na'-yote-kā-o-no'-ga,	Territory of the Oneidas.
O-nun'dā-ga-o-no'-ga,	Territory of the Onondagas.
Gwe-u'-gweh-o-no'-ga,	Territory of the Cayugas.
Nun-da'-wā-o-no'-ga,	Territory of the Senecas.
Dus-ga'-o-weh-o-no'-ga,	Territory of the Tuscaroras

NUN-DA'-WÄ-O-NO'-GA,

OR THE TERRITORY OF THE SENECA.

Seneca Dialect.

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY.

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Dunkirk,	Gä-na'-da-wä-o,	{ Running through the hem-locks.
Cattaraugus Creek,	{ Gä-dä'-ges-ga-o, Gä-hun'da, ²	{ Fetid banks.
Silver Creek,	Gä-a-nun-dä'-tä, G.	A mountain levelled down.

¹ Where the Map and this Schedule are at variance, the latter must govern.

² Gä-hun'-da and Te-car-ne-o-di' are common nouns, signifying, the former, "a river" or "creek," and the latter, "a lake." They are always affixed by the Iroquois, in speaking, to the name itself.

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Chautauqua Creek,	Gă'-no-wun-go, G.	In the rapids.
Conewango River,	Gă'-no-wun-go, G.	In the rapids.
Canadawa Creek,	Gă-na'-da-wă-o, G.	{ Running through the hem-locks.
Cassadaga Creek,	Gus-dă'-go, G.	Under the rocks.
Cassadaga Lake,	{ Gus-dă'-go, Te-car- ne-o-dî', ¹	{ Under the rocks.
Chautauqua Lake,	Chă-dă'-quěh, T.	Place where one was lost.
Cattaraugus,	Ga'-dă-ges'-ga-o,	Fetid banks.

CATTARAUGUS COUNTY.

Alleghany River,	O-hee'-yo, G.	The beautiful river.
Great Valley Creek,	O-dă'-squă'-dos-sa, G.	Around the stone.
Little Valley Creek,	O-da'-squă'-wa-těh', G.	{ Small stone beside a large one.
Oil Creek,	Te-car'-nohs, G.	Dropping oil.
Ischuna Creek,	He'-soh, G.	Floating nettles.
Oswaya Creek,	O-so'-ă-yeh, G.	Pine forest.
Burton Creek,	Je'-gă-sa-nek, G.	Name of an Indian.
Limé Lake,	Te-car'-no-wun-do, T.	Lime Lake.
Ellicottville,	De-ăs'-hen-dă-quă,	Place for holding courts.
Burton,	Je'-gă-sa-neh,	Name of an Indian.
Olean,	He'-soh,	Same as Ischuna Creek.
Hasket Creek.	O-so'-ă-went-ha, G.	By the pines.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

Alleghany Village,	De-o'-na-gă-no,	Cold spring.
Alleghany Village,	Jo'-ne-a-dih,	Beyond the great bend.
Oil Spring Village,	Te-car'-nohs,	Dropping oil.
Bend Village,	Da'-u-de-hok-to,	At the bend.
Trail of the Eries,	{ Gă-quă'-ga-o-no, Wă-ă'-gwen-ne-yuh.	

ERIE COUNTY.

Two Sisters Creek,	Te-car'-na-gă-ge, G.	Black waters.
Caugwaga Creek,	Gă'-gwă-ga, G.	Creek of the Cat Nation.
Smokes Creek,	Dă-de-o'-dă-na-suk'-to, G.	Bend in the shore.
Cazenovia Creek,	Gă-a'-nun-děh-tă, G.	A mountain flattened down.
Buffalo Creek,	Do'-sho-weh, G.	Splitting the fork.
Cayuga Creek,	Gă-da'-geh, G.	Through the oak openings.

¹ See note 2, p. 127.

SCHEDULE OF MAP

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Ellicott Creek,	Gă-dă'-o-yă-deh, G.	Level heavens.
Grand Island,	Gă-weh'-no-geh, ⁽⁴⁵⁾	On the island.
Eighteen Mile Creek,	Tă-nun'-no-ga-o, G.	Full of hickory bark.
Murder Creek,	De'-on-gote, G.	Place of hearing.
Lake Erie,	Do'-sho-weh, T.	Same as Buffalo Creek.
Buffalo,	Do'-sho-weh,	Same as Buffalo Creek.
Black Rock,	De-o'-steh-gă-a,	A rocky shore.
Williamsville,	Gă-sko'-să-dă-ne-o,	Many falls.
Clarence Hollow,	Tă-nun'-no-ga-o,	Full of hickory bark.
Akron,	De'-on-gote,	{ Place of hearing (<i>neuter gender</i>).
Lancaster,	Gă-squen'-dă-geh,	
		Place of the lizard.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

Red Jacket Village,	Te-kise'-da-ne-yout,	Place of the bell.
Falls Village,	Gă-sko'-să-da,	The falls.
Cattaraugus Village,	Gă-dă'-ges-ga-o,	Same as Cattaraugus Creek.
Carrying Place Village,	{ Gwă'-u-gweh,	{ Place of taking our boats, or portage.

GENESEE AND WYOMING COUNTIES.

Tonawanda Creek,	Tă'-nă-wun-da, G.	Swift water.
Allens Creek,	O'-ăt-kă, G.	The opening.
Black Creek,	Jă'-go-o-geh, G.	{ Place of hearing. (<i>This is feminine.</i>)
Stafford,	Yă'-go-o-geh,	
Batavia,	Deo-on'-go-wă,	The great hearing place.
Oakfield,	Te-car'-dă-na-duk,	Place of many trenches.
Alabama,	Gă'-swă-dăk,	By the cedar swamp.
Caryville,	Gau'-dăk,	By the plains.
Pine Hill,	Te-că'-so-ă-a,	Pine lying up.
Attica,	{ Gweh'-tă-ă-ne-te-car'- nun-do-deh,	{ The red village.
Alexander,		
Wyoming,	Da-o'-sa-no-geh,	Place without a name.
Pembroke,	Te-car'-ese-tă-ne-ont,	Place with a sign-post.
	O-ă'-geh,	On the road.
LeRoy,	{ Te-car'-no-wun-na-dă'- ne-o,	{ Many rapids.
Darien,		
Silver Lake,	O-so'-ont-geh,	Place of turkeys.
Silver Lake Outlets,	Gă-na'-yăt, T.	Signification lost.
Caneadea Creek,	Gă-na'-yăt, G.	Signification lost.
	Gă-o'-ya-de-o, G.	Same as Caneadea.
Warsaw,	Chi'-nose-heh-geh,	On the side of the valley

APPENDIX A

INDIAN VILLAGES.

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Tonawanda Village,	Tă'-nă-wun-da,	Swift water.
Gardow,	Gă-dă'-o,	Bank in front.

ALLEGANY COUNTY.

Genesee River,	Gen-nis'-he-yo, G.	The beautiful valley.
Wiskoy Creek,	O-wa-is'-ki, G.	Under the banks.
Black Creek,	Jă-go'-yo-geh, G.	Hearing place.
Angelica,	Gă-ne-o'-wěh-ga-yat,	Head of the stream.
Caneadea,	{ Gă-o'-ya-de-o,	{ Where the heavens lean against the earth.
Caneadea,	{ Gă-o'-yă-de-o, G.	{ Where the heavens rest upon the earth.
Nunda,	Nun-dă'-o,	Hilly.
Wiskoy,	O-wa-is'-ki,	Under the banks.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

O-wa-is-ki,	O-wa-is'-ki,	Under the banks.
Caneadea,	Gă-o'-ya-de-o,	{ Where the heavens lean against the earth.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

Caneseraga Creek,	Gă-nus', gă-go, G.	Among the milkweed.
Conesus Lake,	Gă-ne-ă'-sos, T.	Place of nanny-berries.
Conesus Outlet,	Gă-ne-ă'-sos, G.	Place of nanny-berries.
Hemlock Lake,	O-neh'-dă, T.	The hemlock.
Hemlock Outlet,	O-neh'-dă, G.	The hemlock.
Geneseo,	O-hă'-di,	Trees burned.
Mount Morris,	So-no'-jo-wau-ga,	{ Big kettle. (Residence of a Seneca Chief.)
Dansville,	Gă-nus'-gă-go,	Among the milkweed.
Livonia,	De-o'-de-sote,	The spring.
Lima,	Skă-hase'-gă-o,	Once a long creek.
Avon,	Gă-no'-wau-ges,	Fetid waters.
Caledonia,	De-o'-na-gă-no,	Cold water.
Moscow,	Gă-năh'-dă-on-tweh,	{ Where hemlock was spilled.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

Squakie Hill,	Da-yo'-it-gă-o,	{ Where the river issues from the hills.
Site of Moscow,	Gă-něh'-dă-on-tweh,	{ Where hemlock was spilled.

SCHEDULE OF MAP

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Little Beard's Town,	De-o-nun'-dä-gä-a,	Where the hill is near.
Big Tree Village,	Gä-un-do'-wä-na,	A big tree.
Tuscarora Village,	O-hä'-gi,	Crowding the bank.
Ganowauges,	Gä-no'-wau-ges,	Fetid waters.
Site of Dansville,	Gä-nus'-gä-go,	Among the milkweed.
Near Livonia,	De-o'-de-sote,	The Spring.
Site of Mt. Morris,	So-no'-jo-wau-ga,	Big kettle.

MONROE COUNTY.

Irondequoit Bay,	Ne-o'-dä-ön-dä-quät,	A bay.
Salmon Creek,	Ga'-doke-na, G.	Place of minnows.
Sandy Creek,	O-nēh'-chī-gēh, G.	Long ago.
Honeoye Outlet,	Hä'-ne-ä-yeh, G.	Finger lying.
Rochester,	Gä'-sko-sä-go,	At the falls.
Brockport,	{ Gweh'-ta-a-ne-te-car- nun-do'-teh,	{ Red Village.
Scottsville,	O'-ät-kä,	{ The opening. (Same as Allen's Creek.)
Honeoye Falls,	Sko'-sa-is-to,	{ Falls rebounding from an obstruction.
Ontario Trail,	{ Ne-ä'-gä Wa-ä-gwen- ne-yu,	{ Ontario foot path.
Indian Village at the Bend,	{ Dä-yo'-de-hok-to,	A bended creek.

ORLEANS AND NIAGARA COUNTIES.

Oak Orchard Creek,	Dä-ge-ä'-no-gä-unt, G.	{ Two sticks coming to- gether.
Johnson's Creek,	A-jo'-yok-ta, G.	Fishing Creek.
18 mile Creek,	{ Date-ge-ä'-de-hä-nä- geh, G.	{ Two creeks near together.
Tuscarora Creek,	{ Te-car'-na-ga-ge, G.	Black Creek.
East Branch,		
Tuscarora Creek,	{ De-yo'-wuh-yeh, G.	Among the reeds.
West Branch,		
Albion,	De-o'-wun-dake-no,	{ Place where boats were burned.
Medina,	Date-geh'-ho-seh,	{ One stream crossing ano- ther. (Aqueduct on the canal.)
Middleport,	Te-ka'-on-do-duk,	Place with a sign-post.
Lockport,	De-o'-do-sote,	{ The Spring (referring to the Cold Spring).

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Royalton Centre, Lewiston,	O-ge-a'-wā-te-kā'-e, Gā'-a-no-geh,	Place of the butternut. On the mountains.
Youngstown,	Ne-ah'-gā,	{ Supposed from O-ne-ah, a neck.
Golden Creek,	{ Hate-kch'-neet-ga-on- dā, G.	{ Signification lost.
Niagara River,	Ne-ah'-gā, G. (45)	Same as Youngtown.
Lake Ontario,	Ne-ah'-gā, T.	Same as Youngtown.
The word Ontario,	Skā-no'-dā-ri-o, T.	{ The "beautiful lake." (This is a Mohawk word and Ontario is a deriva- tive.)
Niagara Falls,	Date-car'-sko-sase,	The highest falls.
Niagara Village,	Date-car'-sko-sase,	The highest falls.
Tuscarora Indian Village,	{ Gā'-a-nò-geh,	On the mountains.
Seneca Indian Village,	Gā-u'-gweh,	{ Taking canoe out. (Car- rying place at the mouth of Tonawanda Creek.)

WAYNE AND ONTARIO COUNTIES.

Mud Creek,	Gā'-nā-gweh, G.	Same as Palmyra.
Flint Creek,	Ah-tā'-gweh-dā-ga, G.	
Canandaigua,	Gā'-nun-dā-gwa,	{ A place selected for a set- tlement.
Canandaigua Outlet,	Gā'-nun-dā-gwa, G.	{ A place selected for a set- tlement.
Canandaigua Lake,	Gā'-nun-dā-gwa, T.	{ A place selected for a set- tlement.
Hemlock Outlet,	O-neh'-dā, G.	Hemlock.
Honeoye Lake,	Hā'-ne-ā-yeh, T.	Finger lying.
Skaneateles Lake,	Skā'-ne-a-dice, T.	Long Lake.
Sodus Bay,	Seo-dose'. (Seneca.)	{ Ah-slo-dose, (Oneida.) Sig- nification lost.
Little Sodus Bay,	Date-ke-ā'-o-shote,	{ Two baby frames. (From Gā-ose'-hā, a baby frame.)
Palmyra,	Gā'-nā-gweh,	{ A village suddenly sprung up.
Geneva,	Gā-nun'-dā-sa-ga,	New settlement village.
Seneca Lake,	Gā-nun'-dā-sa-ga, T.	New settlement village.
West Bloomfield,	Gā-nun'-dā-ok,	Village on the top of a hill.
Victor,	Gā-o'-sā-ga-o,	In the basswood country.
Naples,	Nun'-da-wā-o,	Great hill.

SCHEDULE OF MAP

INDIAN VILLAGES.

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Near Geneva,	Gā-nun'-dā-sa-ga, ⁽⁴⁵⁾	New settlement village.
Canandaigua,	Gā'-nun-dā-gwa,	{ Place selected for a settlement.
Victor,	Gā-o'-sā-ga-o,	
Near Naples,	Nun'-da-wā-o,	In the basswood country. Great hill.

YATES, STEUBEN, AND CHEMUNG COUNTIES.

Crooked Lake,	O-go'-yā-ga, T.	{ Promontory projecting into the lake.
Crooked Lake Outlet,	O-go'-yā-ga, G.	{ Promontory projecting into the lake.
Conhocton River,	Gā-hā'-to, G.	A log in the water.
Chemung River,	Gā-hā'-to, G. ⁽⁴⁵⁾	A log in the water.
Canisteo River,	Te-car'-nase-te-o, G.	Board on the water.
Bath,	Do-na'-tā-gwen-da,	Opening in an opening.
Painted Post,	Te-car'-nase-te-o-ah,	A board sign.
Elmira,	Skwe'-do-wā, ⁽⁴⁵⁾	Great plain.

GWE-U'-GWEH-O-NO'-GA,

OR THE TERRITORY OF THE CAYUGAS.

(PARTLY CAYUGA AND PARTLY SENECA.)

Tioga Point,	Tā-yo'-ga,	At the forks.
Ithaca,	Ne-o-dāk'-he-āt,	At the head of the lake.
Cayuga Lake,	Gwe-u'-gweh, T.	{ The lake at the mucky land.
Aurora,	De-ā-wen'-dote,	Constant dawn.
Canoga,	Gā-no'-geh,	Oil floating on the water.
Cayuga Bridge,	Was'-gwas,	A long bridge.
Montezuma,	Te-car'-jik-ha'-do,	Place of salt.
Howland's Island,	Gā-weh'-no-wā-na,	Great island.
Waterloo,	Sko'-yase,	Place of whortleberries.
Seneca River,	Swa'-geh, G.	{ Flowing out. (Some doubt about the signification.)
Clyde River,	Gā-nā'-gweh, G.	{ River at a village suddenly sprung up.
Auburn,	Was'-co,	Floating bridge.
Otter Lake,	Squā-yen'-na, T.	A great way up.
Muskrat Creek,	Squā-yen'-na, G.	A great way up.
Owasco Outlet,	De-ā-go'-gā-ya, G.	Place where men were killed.

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Owasco Lake,	Dwas'-co, T.	Lake at the floating bridge.
North Sterling Creek,	Dats-ka'-he, G.	Hard talking.
Sodus Bay Creek,	Te-gä-hōne'-sä-o'-ta, G.	A child in a baby frame.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

Site of Canoga,	Gä-no'-geh,	Oil on the water.
Site of Union Springs,	Ge-wä'-ga,	Promontory running out.
Above Lockwoods Cove,	Gä-yä'-gä-an'-ha,	Inclined downwards.
Site of Ithaca,	Ne-o'-däk-he'-ät,	At the end of the lake.

O-NUN'-DÄ-GA-O-NO'-GA,

OR THE TERRITORY OF THE ONONDAGAS.

(ONONDAGA DIALECT.)

Susquehanna River,	{ Gä'-wa-no-wä'-nä-neh, (45) G.	{ Great Island River.
Owego,	Ah-wa'-ga,	Where the valley widens.
Owego Creek,	Ah-wa'-ga, G.	Where the valley widens.
Cortland,	O-nan'-no-gi-is'kä,	Shagbark hickory.
Homer,	{ Te-wis'-ta-no-ont-sa'- ne-ä-hä,	{ Place of the silver smith.
Owasco Inlet,	Kä'-na-kä'-ge, G.	Black water.
Tionghinoga River,	O-nan'-no-gi-is'-kä, G.	Shagbark hickory.

ONONDAGA COUNTY.

Tully Lake,	Te-kä'-ne-a-dä'-he, T.	A lake on a hill.
Tully,	Te-kä'-ne-a-dä'-he,	A lake on a hill.
Apulia,	O-nun'-o-gese,	Long hickory.
Skaneateles Lake,	Skan-e-a'-dice, T.	Long lake.
Skaneateles,	Skan-e-a'-dice,	Long lake.
Otisco Lake,	Ga-ah'-na, T.	{ Rising to the surface, and again sinking. Legend of a drowning man.
Otisco,	Ga-ah'-na,	do.
Otisco Outlet,	Ga-ah'-na, G.	do.
Lafayette,	Te-kä'-wis-to'-tä,	Tinned dome.
Pompey Hill,	De-o'-wy-un'-do,	Windmill.
Pompey,	De-is'-wä-ga'-hä,	Place of many ribs.
Oil Creek,	De-o'-nake-ha'-e, G.	Oily water.
Onondaga Creek,	O-nun-dä'-ga, G.	On the hills.

SCHEDULE OF MAP

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Onondaga West Hill,	Te-ga-che'-qua-ne-on'-ta,	A hammer hanging.
Onondaga Hollow,	Te-o-hä'-ha-hen'-wha,	Turnpike crossing the valley.
Marcellus,	Us-te'-ka,	Bitternut hickory.
Nine Mile Creek,	Us-te'-ka, G.	Bitternut hickory.
Camillus,	O-yä'-han,	Apples split open.
Elbridge,	Kä-no-wä'-ya,	Skull lying on a shelf.
Jordan Creek,	Ha-nan'-to, G.	{ Small hemlock limbs on water.
Jordan,	Ha-nan'-to,	{ Small hemlock limbs on water.
Cross Lake,	U-neen'-do, T.	{ Hemlock tops lying on water.
Fort Brewerton,	Gä-do'-quat,	{ (Oneida Dialect. Signifi- cation lost.)
Oneida Outlet,	She-u'-ka, G.	(Lost.)
Liverpool,	Gä-nä-wä'-ya,	A great swamp.
Liverpool Creek,	Tun-da-dä'-quä, G.	Thrown out.
Onondaga Lake,	Gä-nun-ta'-ah, T.	Material for council fire.
Salina,	Te-gä-jik-ha'-do,	Place of salt.
Syracuse,	Na-tä'-dunk,	{ Pine tree broken with top hanging down.
Jamesville Creek,	Gä-sun'-to, G.	Bark in the water.
Jamesville,	Gä-sun'-to,	Bark in the water.
Limestone Creek,	De-ä-o'-no-he, G.	{ Where the creek suddenly rises.
Manlius,	De-ä-o'-no-he,	{ Where the creek suddenly rises.
Fayetteville,	Gä-che'-a-yo,	Lobster.
Deep Spring,	De-o'-sä-dä-ya'-ah,	Deep Basin Spring.
South Onondaga,	Swe-no'-gä,	A hollow.
Christian Hollow,	De-o'-nake-hus'-sink,	Never clean.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

Onondaga Castle,	Kä-nä-tä-go'-wä,	Signification lost.
4 Miles East of Castle,	Tu-e-a-das'-so,	Hemlock knot in the water.
Site of Onondaga Hollow,	{ Gis-twe-ah'-na,	A little man.
3 Miles South of On- ondaga Castle,	{ Nan-ta-sä'-sis,	Going partly round a hill.

OSWEGO AND JEFFERSON COUNTIES.

Oswego,	Swa'-geh,	Flowing out.
New Haven Creek,	Kä-dis-ko'-nä, G.	Long marsh.

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Little Salmon Creek,	Gä-nun-tä-sko'-nä, G.	Large bark.
Grindstone Creek,	He-ah-hä'-whe, G.	Apples in crotch of tree.
Big Salmon Creek,	Gä-hen-wä'-ga, G.	A creek.
Pulaski,	Gä-hen-wä'-ga,	A creek.
Sandy Creek,	Te-ka'-dä-o-gä'-he, G.	Sloping banks.
Grand Island,	{ De-ä'-wōne-dä-ga-han'- da,	{ Signification lost.
Sackets Harbor,	{ Gä-hu'-ä-go-je-twä-da- a'-lote.	{ Fort at the mouth of Great River.

O-NA'-YOTE-KÄ-O-NO'-GA,

OR ONEIDA TERRITORY.

(ONEIDA DIALECT.)

St. Lawrence River,	Gä-nä-wä'-ga, G.	The rapid river.
Black Lake,	Che'-gwä'-ga, T.	In the hip.
Oswegatchie River,	O'-swa-gatch, G.	Signification lost.
Ogdensburgh,	O'-swa-gatch,	Signification lost.
Black River,	Kä-hu-ah'-go, G.	Great, or Wide River.
Watertown,	Kä-hu-ah'-go,	Great, or Wide River.
Beaver River,	Ne-hä-sä'-ne, G.	{ Crossing on a stick of tim- ber.
Deer Creek,	Gä-ne'-gä-to'-do, G.	Corn-pounder.
Moose River,	Te-kä'-hun-di-an'-do, G.	Clearing an opening.
Otter Creek,	Dä-ween'-net, G.	The Otter.
Indian River,	O-je'-quack, G.	Nut River.

ONEIDA COUNTY.

Mohawk River } above Herkimer,	{ Da-yä'-hoo-wä'-quat, G.	Carrying place.
Rome,	Da-yä'-hoo-wä'-quat,	Carrying place.
Fish Creek,	Ta-gä'-soke, G.	Forked like a spear.
Wood Creek,	Kä-ne-go'-dick, G.	Signification lost.
Oneida Lake,	Gä-no'-a-lo'-häle, T.	A head on a pole.
Scribas Creek,	Gä-sote'-na, G.	High grass.
Bay Creek,	Te-guä'-no-tä-go'-wä, G.	Big morass.
West Canada Creek } and Mohawk River,	{ Te-ah-o'-ge, G.	At the forks.
Trenton Village,	Ose'-te-a'-daque,	In the bone.
Trenton Falls,	Date-wä'-sunt-hä'-go,	Great Falls.
Utica,	Nun-da-dä'-sis,	Around the hill.

SCHEDULE OF MAP

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Whitestown Creek,	Che-gă-quat'-kă, G.	Kidneys.
Whitestown,	Che-gă-quat'-kă,	Kidneys.
Oriskany Creek,	Ole'-hisk, G.	Nettles.
Oriskany,	Ole'-hisk,	Nettles.
Paris Hill,	Gă-nun-do'-glee,	Hills shrunk together.
Clinton,	Kă-dă'-wis'-dăg,	White field.
Sangerfield,	Skă'-nă-wis,	A long swamp.
Vernon,	Skă-nu'-sunk,	Place of the fox.
Vernon Centre,	Skun-an-do'-wă,	Great hemlock.
Oneida Creek,	Gă-no-a-lo'-hăle, G.	Head on a pole.
Verona,	Te-o-na'-tăle,	Pine forest.
Nine Mile Creek,	Te-yă-nun'-soke, G.	A beech tree standing up.
Camden,	He-stă-yun'-twă,	Meaning lost.
Oneida Dépôt,	De-öse-la-ta'-gaat,	Where the cars go fast.
New Hartford,	Che-gă-quat'-kă,	Kidneys.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

Oneida Castle,	Gă-no-a-lo'-hăle,	Head on a pole.
Site of Camden,	Ho-stă-yun'-twă,	Meaning lost.
On Fish Creek,	Ta-gă'-soke, G.	Forked like a spear.
Near Oneida Castle,	Gă-nă'-doque,	Empty village.

MADISON AND CHENANGO COUNTIES.

Canestota,	Kă-ne-to'-tă,	Pine tree standing alone.
Lenox,	Skă-wais'-lă,	A point made by bushes.
Caneseraga Creek,	Kă-nă'-so-wă'-ga, G.	{ Several strings of beads with a string lying across.
Chittenango Creek,	Chu-de-năäng', G.	
Chittenango,	Chu-de-năäng', G.	Where the sun shines out.
Cazenovia Lake,	Ah-wă'-gee, T.	Perch lake.
Cazenovia,	Ah-wă'-gee,	Perch lake.
Hamilton,	Da-ude'-no-să-gwa-nose,	Round house.
Unadilla River,	De-u-na'-di-lo, G.	Place of meeting.
Chenango River,	O-che-năng, G.	Bull thistles.
Sherburn,	Gă-na'-dă-dele,	Steep hill.
Norwich,	Gă-na'-so-wă'-di,	Signification lost.
Oxford,	So-de-ah'-lo-wă'-nake,	Thick-necked giant.
Binghampton,	O-che-năng',	Bull thistles.
Stockbridge Indian Village,	{ Ah-gote'-sa-ga-năge,	Meaning lost.

APPENDIX A

GÄ-NE-Ä'-GA-O-NO'-GA,

OR MOHAWK TERRITORY.

(MOHAWK DIALECT.)

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
West Canada Creek,	Te-uge'-ga, G.	At the forks.
Mohawk River,	Te-uge'-ga, G.	At the forks.
Herkimer,	Te-uge'-ga,	At the forks.
Little Falls,	Tä-lä-que'-ga,	Small bushes.
Fort Plain,	Twä-dä-a-la-ha'-lä,	Fort on a hill.
Canajoharie Creek,	Gä-na-jo-hi'-e, G.	Washing the basin.
Canajoharie,	Gä-na-jo-hi'-e,	Washing the basin.
Johnstown,	Ko-lä-ne'-kä,	Indian superintendent.
Fonda,	Gä-nä-wä'-da,	On the rapids.
Fort Hunter,	Te-on-dä-lo'-ga,	{ Two streams coming together.
Schoharie Creek,	Sko-har'-le, G.	Flood-wood.
Schoharie,	Sko-har'-le,	Flood-wood.
East Canada Creek,	Te-car'-hu-har-lo'-da, G.	Visible over the creek.
Otsquago Creek,	O-squa'-go, G.	Under the bridge.
Amsterdam Creek,	Ju-tä-lä'-ga, G.	Signification lost.
Garoga Creek,	Ga-ro'-ga, G.	Signification lost.
Schenectady,	O-no-ä-lä-gōne'-na,	In the head.
Albany,	Skä'-neh-tä'-de,	Beyond the openings.
Hudson River,	Skä'-neh-tä'-de, G.	River beyond the openings.
Cohoes Falls,	Gä'-hä-oose,	Shipwrecked canoe.
Lake Champlain,	O-ne-ä-dä'-lote, T.	{ Signification lost. (Oneida dialect.)
Ticonderoga,	Je-hōne-tä-lo'-ga,	Noisy.
Saratoga,	S'har-la-to'-ga,	Signification lost.
Lake St. Francis,	Gä-na-sä-dä'-ga, T.	Side hill. (Oneida dialect.)
Salmon River,	Gau-je'-ah-go-nä'-ne, G.	Sturgeon River.
St. Regis River,	Ah-qua-sos'-ne, G.	Partridges drumming.
St. Regis,	Ah-qua-sos'-ne,	Partridges drumming.
Racket River,	Tä'-na-wä'-deh, G.	Swift water.

COUNTIES SOUTH OF THE MOHAWK.

Otsego (45) Lake,	Ote-sa'-ga, T.	Signification lost.
Cooperstown,	Ote-sa'-ga,	Signification lost.
Delaware River,	Skä-hun-do'-wä, G.	In the plains.
Cobus Hill,	As-ca-le'-ge,	Meaning lost.
New York,	Gä-no'-no,	Meaning lost.

SCHEDULE OF MAP

ENGLISH NAME.	INDIAN NAME.	SIGNIFICATION.
Long Island,	Gä-wa-nase-geh,	{ A long island. (Oneida dialect.)
Atlantic Ocean,	O-jik'-ha-dä-ge'-ga,	
		Salt water.

INDIAN VILLAGES.

Upper Mohawk Castle,	Gä-ne'-ga-hä'-gä,	Possessor of the flint.
Middle Mohawk Castle,	{ Gä-na-jo-hi'-e,	{ Washing the basin.
Lower Mohawk Castle,		
	{ Te-ah'-ton-ta-lo'-ga,	{ Two streams coming together.

CANADA.

Quebec,	Ke-a-done-dä-a'-ga,	Two forts contiguous.
Montreal,	Do-te-ä'-ga, ⁽⁴⁵⁾	Almost broken.
Kingston,	Gä-dai-o'-que,	Fort in the water.
Welland River,	Jo-no'-dok, G.	Signification lost.
Grand River,	Swa'-geh, G.	Flowing out.
Burlington Bay,	De-o-na'-sä-de'-o, ⁽⁴⁵⁾	{ Where the sand forms a bar.
Queenstown,	Do-che'-hä-o',	
		{ Where the mountain dies in the river.
Hamilton,	De-o-na'-sä-de'-o,	See above.
Toronto,	De'-on-do,	{ Log floating upon the water.
Brock's Monument,	Gus-tä'-ote,	
Chippeway,	Jo-no'-dak,	Signification lost.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Erie,	Gus-ha'-wä-ga,	On the body.
Cornplanter's Village,	De-o-no'-sä-da-ga,	Burned houses.

APPENDIX A

II

Table exhibiting, in the Seneca dialect, the conjugation of the Verb, Ge'-yāse, "I shoot."

ACTIVE VOICE.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense. — *Shoot, or am shooting.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. Ge'-yāse,	1. Och-ne'-yase,	1. Ah-gwā'-yāse.
2. Sne'-yāse,	2. Sne'-yāse,	2. Swā'-yāse.
3. Hā'-yase,	3. Ne'-yāse,	3. Hā-ne'-yāse.

Imperfect. — *Did shoot, or was shooting.*

1. Ge'-yāse-quā,	1. Ne'-yāse-quā,	1. Dwā'-yāse-quā.
2. Se'-yāse-quā,	2. Sne'-yāse-quā,	2. Swā-yāse-quā.
3. Hā'-yāse-quā,	3. Ne'-yāse-quā,	3. Hā-ne'-yāse-quā.

Perfect. — *Shot, have shot, or did shoot.*

1. Ah-ge'-yā-go,	1. Unc-ne'-yā-go,	1. Ung-gwā'-yā-go.
2. Sā-yā'-go,	2. Sne'-yā-go,	2. Swā-yā'-go.
3. Ho-yā'-go,	3. Ho-ne'-yā-go,	3. Ho-ne'-yā-go.

Pluperfect. — *Had shot.*

1. Che-wā'-ge-yā-go,	1. Che-unk'-ne-yā-go,	1. Che-yung'-gwā-yā-go.
2. Che-sā'-yā-go,	2. Che-sne'-yā-go,	2. Che-swā-yā-go.
3. Che-o'-yā-go,	3. Che-o'-ne-yā-go,	3. Che-o'-ne-yā-go.

Future. — *Shall, or will shoot.*

1. Eh-ge'-yāke,	1. Och-ne'-yāke-heh,	1. Eh-yā'-gwā-yāke.
2. Se-yāke'-heh,	2. Eh-sne'-yāke,	2. Eh-swā'-yāke.
3. Hā'-yāke-heh,	3. Eh-ne'-yāke,	3. Eh-ne'-yāke.

TABLE EXHIBITING THE DIALECTAL VARIATIONS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE IROQUOIS
AS ILLUSTRATED IN THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

NAMES.	SENECA DIALECT.	CAYUGA DIALECT.	ONONDAGA DIALECT.	TUSCARORA DIALECT.	ONIDA DIALECT.	MOHAWK DIALECT.	SIGNIFICATION.
Albany	Skā'neh-tā-de	Skā'-na-tā-de	Skā-nā-tā-de	Skaw-na-taw'-te	Ska-na'-tat	Skā'-neh-tā'-de	Beyond the openings.
Utica	Nun-da-dā'-sis	De-o'-nun-da-dā'-sis	None-da-dā'-sis	Ya-nun-nā'-rats	Ya-nun-da-dā'-sis	Ya-none-dā'-sis	Around the hill.
Auburn	Dwas-co'	Was'-co	O'-co	Ah'-sko	O-was'-co	Was'-co	A floating bridge.
Geneva	Gā-nun-dā-sā'-ga	Gā-na-dā-sā'-ga	Gā-nā-dā-sā'-ga	O-tā-nā-sā'-ga	Gā-nā-dā-sā'-ga	Gā-na-dā-sā'-ga	A new settlement village.
Canandaigua	Gā-nun-dā'-gwa	Gā-na-dā'-gwa	Cā-nā-dā'-quā	Cā'-tā-nā-tā'-qua	Gā-nā-dā-lo'-qua	Gā-nā-tā-lā'-quā	A place selected for a settlement.
Rochester	Gā-sko'-sā-go	Gā-sko-sā' go	Gā-sko'-sā go'-wa	Gā-skuh'-sa ke'	Gā-sko-sā'-go	Gā-skun-sā' go	Under the falls.
Tonawanda	Tā-nā-wun-da	Tā-no-wun'-da	Tā-no-wā'-da	Tā'-nā-wā-teh	Tā nā-want	Tā-nā-wā'-deh	Swift water.
Buffalo	Do-sho'-weh	De-o-tro'-weh	De-o-sā'-weh	Ne-o-thro'-ra	De-ose' lole	De-o hose-lole'	Splitting the fork.
Niagara River	Ne-ah'-gā	O-ne-ā'-gā	Ne-ah'-ga	O-ne-ā'-cars	O ne-ā'-gale	O-ne-ā'-ga-ra	At the neck. (Supposed.)
Honeoye Lake	Hā-ne-ā'-yeh	Hā-ne-ā'-ha	Hā-ne-ā'-ya	Tā-ne-ā'-yeh	Hā-ne-ā'-e	Hā-ne-ā'-yuh	A finger lying.
Hemlock Lake	O-neh'-dā	De-o-neh'-dā-h	O-nā'-dā	O-nuh'-dā	U nun'-dā	O-no' dā	A hemlock.
Skaneateles Lake	Skā'-ne-o'-dice	Skā-ne-a'-dice	Skā-ne-o'-dice	Skon-yat-e'-les	Skā'-ne-o-dā'-lis	Skā'-ne-ā'-da-lis	Long lake.
Chautauqua Lake	Cha-dā'-gweh	Chā-dā'-qua	Cha-dā'-quā	Chā-tā'-quā	Skā'-ne-o-dā'-lis	Jā-dā'-qua	Place where one was lost.
Watloo	Sā'-yase	Sko' yase	Sā'-yase	Skā'-yase	Sko-ne' ase	Skā'-yase	Place of whortleberries.
Herkimer	Dā-vā-o' gch	Da-ā-o'-ga	Te-o-gun'	Tā-ugh'-kā	Te-ā'-oge	Te-yoge'-ga	At the forks.
Conhocton River	Gā-hā'-tro	Gā-hā'-tro	Gā-hā'-to	Gā-nak'-to	Ole-hiak'	Ole-his'-ka	A log in the water.
Oriskany Creek	O-his'-heh	O-his'-ha	O-his'-kā	Ose-hac'-leh	Ole-hiak'	Ole-his'-ka	Place of nettles.
Oswego	Swa-geh'	Swa-geh'	Swa-geh'	O swa'-geh	Oswage'-ga	O swā'-go	Flowing out.
Canajoharie	Cā-nā'-jō-hā	Cā-nā'-jō-hā	Cā-nā'-jō-hā'-ga	Can-a-jō'-har	Gā-nā'-jō-hā-lā'-que	Gā-nā'-jō-har'-lā	Washing the basin.
Montezuma	Te-kā'-jik-hā'-do	T'ear-jik-hā'-do	Te-skā'-jik hā'-do	Gā-jik-hu' no	Gā-nā'-jō-hā-lā'-que	Gā-jik-ha'-do	Place of salt.
Schenectady	Ho-no'-ā go-neh'	Gā-hun-go'-wā	No-wā-go'-nā	Na-ā-rā gweh'-na	O-no-ā-lī'-gone	O-no-ā-lā-gūn'-na	Pained in the head.
Black River	Gā-hun'-go-wā	Gā-hun-go'-wā	Kā-hu-wā-go'-nā	Kā-shā-kā'-ka	Kā-hu-wā'-go	Gā-shu-ha'-go	Great river.
Oneida Castle	Gā-no'-ā-o-lā	Gā-no-ā-o'-ā	Gā-no-wi'-hā	Kā-no-wa-no'-hāte	Gā-no-wā'-lo-hale	Gā'-no-wā'-lohar'-lā	Head on a pole.
Allegany River	O-hee'-yo	O-hee'-yo	O-hee'-yu	O-hee'-yu	O-hee'	O-hee'-yo	The beautiful river.

SENECA VERB

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense. — *May, or can shoot.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. Eh-ge'-yāke-ge'-seh,	1. Eh-ne'-yāke-ge'-seh,	1. Eh-dwā'-yāke-ge'-seh.
2. Eh-se'-yāke-ge'-seh,	2. Eh-sne'-yāke-ge'-seh,	2. Eh-swā'-yāke-ge'-seh.
3. Ha-o'-yāke-ge'-seh,	3. Eh-ne'-yāke-ge'-seh,	3. Eh-ne'-yāke-ge'-seh.

Imperfect. — *Might, could, or would shoot.*

1. Ah-ge'-yāke,	1. I-ne'-yāke,	1. I-dwā-yāke.
2. Ah-se'-yāke,	2. I-sne'-yāke,	2. I-swā'-yāke.
3. Ah-ah'-yāke,	3. Ah-ne'-yāke,	3. Ah-an-ne'-yāke.

Perfect. — *May have shot.*

1. Ah-wā-ge'-yā-go-ge'-seh,	1. Ah-yunk-ne'-yā-go-ge'-seh,	1. Ah-yung-gwā'-yā-go-ge'-seh.
2. I-sā'-yā-go-ge'-seh,	2. I-sne'-yā-go-ge'-seh,	2. I-swā'-yā-go-ge'-seh.
3. Ah-o'-yā-go-ge'-seh,	3. Ah-o'-ne-yā-go-ge'-seh,	3. Ah-o'-ne-yā-go-ge'-seh.

Pluperfect wanting.

Future. — *Shall have shot.*

1. Ah-wā-ge'-yā-go,	1. Ah-yuĥk'-ne-yā-go,	1. Ah-yung-gwā'-yā-go.
2. I-sā'-yā-go,	2. I-sne'-yā-go,	2. I-swā'-yā-go.
3. Ah-o'-yā-go,	3. Ah-o'-ne-yā-go,	3. Ah-o'-ne-yā-go.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

2. Je'-yāke, <i>Shoot thou.</i>	2. Sne'-yāke, <i>Shoot ye two.</i>	2. Swā'-yāke, <i>Shoot ye.</i>
3. Hā'-yāke, <i>Let him shoot.</i>	3. Ne'-yāke, <i>Let them two shoot.</i>	3. Hā-ne'-yāke, <i>Let them shoot.</i>

INFINITIVE MOOD WANTING.

PARTICIPLES WANTING.

PASSIVE VOICE.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense. — *Am shot.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. Ung-ge'-yā-go,	1. Unc-ke'-ya-go.
2. A-sā'-yā-go,	2. A-che'-yā-go.
3. Ho-wā-yā-go,	3. Ho-wen-ne'-yā-go.

APPENDIX A

Dual. — Same as Plural.

Imperfect. — *Was shot.*

Singular.

1. Ung-ge'-yā-go'-no,
2. Sa-yā'-go-no,
3. Ho-wuh'-yā-go'-no,

Plural.

1. Unc-ke'-yā-go'-no.
2. A-che'-yā-go'-no.
3. O-wen'-ne-yā-go'-no.

Perfect. — *Have been shot.* — Same as *Imperfect.*

Pluperfect wanting.

Future. — *Shall, or will be shot.*

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Eh-yung'-ge-yāke, | 1. Eh-yunk'-ke-yāke. |
| 2. Eh-yā'-sā-yāke, | 2. Eh-yā'-che-yāke. |
| 3. A-on'-wuh-yāke, | 3. A-on'-wen-ne-yāke. |

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense. — *May be shot.*

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Eh-yung'-ge-yāke-ge'-seh, | 1. Eh-yunk'-ke-yāke-ge'-seh. |
| 2. Eh-yā'-sā-yāke-ge'-seh, | 2. Eh-yā'-che-yāke-ge'-seh. |
| 3. A-o-wuh'-yāke-ge'-seh, | 3. A-o-wen-ne'-yāke-ge'-seh. |

Imperfect wanting.

Perfect. — *May have been shot.*

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Ah-yun-ge'-yā-gon-no-ge'-seh, | 1. Ah-yunk-ke'-yā-gon-no-ge'-seh. |
| 2. Ah-yā'-sā-yā-gon-no-ge'-seh, | 2. Ah-ya-che'-yā-gon-no-ge'-seh. |
| 3. Ah-o-wuh'-yā-gon-no-ge'-seh, | 3. Ah-o-wen-ne'-yā-go-no-ge'-seh. |

Pluperfect. — *Might, could, would, or should have been shot.*

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Ah-yung-ge'-yā-go'-no-na-geh, | 1. Ah-yunk-ke'-yā-go-no-na-geh. |
| 2. Ah-yā'-sā-yā'-go-no-na-geh, | 2. Ah-yā'-che'-yā-go-no-na-geh. |
| 3. Ah-o-wuh'-yā-go-no-na-geh, | 3. Ah-o-wen-ne'-ya-no-na-geh. |

Future. — *Shall have been shot.*

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Ah-yung-ge'-yā-go-no, | 1. Ah-yunk-ke'-yā-go-no. |
| 2. Ah-yā'-sā'-yā-go-no, | 2. Ah-yā'-che'-yā-go-no. |
| 3. Ah-o-wuh'-yā-go-no, | 3. Ah-o-wen-ne'-yā-go-no. |

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. Ah-sā'-yāke, <i>Be thou shot.</i> | 2. A-che'-yake, <i>Be ye shot.</i> |
| 3. Ho-wuh'-yāke, <i>Let him be shot.</i> | 3. Ho-wen-ne'-yāke, <i>Let them be shot.</i> |

INFINITIVE MOOD WANTING.

PARTICIPLES WANTING.

Appendix B

Appendix B

INTRODUCTION

IT is not a century since almost all of our present national domain was in the possession of the red men. Four centuries ago, when white men first came to these shores, the red race occupied both continents of the Western Hemisphere throughout their entire extent. Nowhere else has a single race been found in possession of so vast and so independent a domain. Unto what form and degree of civilization these men would have attained if permitted to work out their own destinies can only be conjectured, for within a very short time after the discovery, as the history of races is counted, their culture was entirely submerged by the influx of European arts and institutions. When our ancestors found them, however, the Indians, lacking domestic animals and the knowledge of iron, were in a lower stage of culture than their contemporaries of Europe. It is not necessary to suppose that this tardiness in progress was due to mental inferiority. It was quite as probably due to an environment less favorable than that in which the nations of Europe had been developed. Through this same lower stage, however, the peoples of Europe had lately passed. Lubbock has pointed out that between different peoples in the same stage of development stronger resemblances are to be found than

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exist in a single people at different stages of its progress. The study of Indian arts, institutions, and society has for us, therefore, something of the same interest that we feel in visiting the hill country of New England or the meadows of Holland, where our own youth or that of our fathers was spent.

Both in avowed romance and in more serious works, the Indian has often been presented to us as a being evolved from the inner consciousness and the preconceptions of the writer, and the individual thus created has been submitted to the judgment of European standards. Morgan, in his thorough and candid way, sought to know and to describe the Indian as he was. To discover the conditions of the red man's life, and the laws of his civil and domestic institutions, and to judge the law by its adaptation to the conditions, and the man by his obedience to the law, was the task which Morgan set himself. In this work he laid the foundation of a new science. The study of primitive man, which in the year 1851, when this book was written, was hardly more than a collecting of curious and isolated facts, became in his hands a key with which to unlock dim and forgotten secrets of the history of mankind.

In the half-century that has since passed, the standpoint from which we view the universe and man has been entirely changed. We are now aware that the structure of our civilization rests on foundations sunk deep into the soil of barbarism and the subsoil of savagery, and that our history has been borne forward on the deeds of the red men of the new world as well as those of the white men of the old world. Darwin

INTRODUCTION

and his successors have taught us that if we would know the life that is in us we must follow it from its beginnings in the cell and the embryo. Morgan and others have shown that we understand our law and our social institutions only when we know the early society in which they were shaped. They have also demonstrated that the culture of our remote forefathers is reproduced and preserved for us among the barbarians of North America. Parkman has made to live before us the story of the contest for the dominion of the continent in which these barbarians took so active a part. It is difficult, but necessary, for us to understand that mankind does not consist entirely of Anglo-Saxons.

Among all the North American peoples, there is none more worthy of study, by reason of their intellectual ability, the character of their institutions, and the part they have played in history, than the Iroquois of the League. And, as it happens, this is the people which has longest been known to ourselves, which has been most closely observed by our writers and statesmen, and whose influence has been most strongly felt in our political constitution and in our history as colonies and nation. The noble territory which they yet occupy with us, that fertile valley of central New York, which is the natural highway from the ocean to the interior of the continent, was the seat of their empire, whence their arms, as our commerce, moved upon and dominated the slopes of the Atlantic coast and the great basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi.

Through their early and constant friendship this imperial territory was opened to our Dutch and

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English forefathers. By the Iroquois and their Algonquin neighbors were made known the riches of American agriculture, including that most productive, and wonderful grain which the red men had tamed from the wilderness, and which we still call the Indian corn. In their ancient League the Iroquois presented to us the type of a Federal Republic under whose roof and around whose council-fires all peoples might dwell in peace and freedom. And in the irrepressible conflict between French autocracy and Teutonic liberty for the dominion of North America, the Iroquois were our firm allies, the constant protectors of our infant colonies, and most efficient co-workers in the final victory. Our nation gathers its people from many peoples of the old world, its language and its free institutions it inherits from England, its civilization and art from Greece and Rome, its religion from Judea, — and even these red men of the forest have wrought some of the chief stones in our national temple.

That we now perceive the interest and importance of Iroquois institutions and history we owe chiefly to the writings of two men. In the year 1851 were published *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, by Francis Parkman, and the *League of the Iroquois*, by Lewis H. Morgan, each book beginning a career which brought to its author fame, and knowledge to mankind. From *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* was developed that finest monument in American literature, *The History of France and England in North America*, while the *League of the Iroquois* was the beginning of the modern science of ethnology. Parkman's histories have gained and hold the wide appreciation that they deserve, but the writings

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of Morgan, less inviting to the general reader, are to the present generation comparatively unknown, and indeed are almost inaccessible. The present work, in especial, deserves to be more widely known, not only for the great interest and value of its contents, but also because of its position in the history of science, because of its relation to the labor and development of the remarkable mind from which it emanated, and finally because of its place as one of the masterpieces of its time in American literature, which had then hardly progressed beyond a sturdy youth.

In preparing the present edition, I have been impressed with the truth suggested in Dr. Shea's introduction to his *Charlevoix*, that familiarity with the subject does not lighten the work of an editor. It has been especially difficult, not to find material, but to pass by material of the greatest value. The text here presented is Morgan's own. For every variance from the first edition there is either the authority of a correction verbatim by Morgan's own hand in his own copy of the work, or satisfactory evidence of a mechanical error in transcribing or in printing.

In the First and Fifth Chapters of Book II. and the First Chapter of Book III. there have also been incorporated some text and a few cuts (chiefly from the Fifth Regent's Report) which were prepared by Morgan at the time of printing the first edition, and omitted, as I am persuaded, for mechanical reasons only. Every word of text is thus Morgan's own.

The notes, when not otherwise indicated, are by myself. In these notes it has been attempted not to prepare a new treatise, but rather to illustrate the text

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by comparisons, to explain allusions, and to correct a few obvious errors. As an observer, Morgan was singularly clear-sighted, but when he relied upon others he was sometimes misled through insufficient or erroneous information. It is especially to be regretted that of the French writers he knew only the not always reliable Charlevoix and the always unreliable La Hontan.

It has been sought in particular to present in these notes Morgan's matured views as found in his later works. Regard for the integrity of the text has prevented their incorporation in the body of the work. Some further editing of the text and especially the omission of some obsolete dissertations would indeed be defensible if the book were considered merely as a scientific treatise, but its connection with the beginnings of our scientific literature demands that every word be retained. It is Morgan's own work, as much as any man's, that has made of the fine philosophy of the Sixth Chapter of Book I., concerning the origin and development of governments, as much of an antique curiosity as a crossbow or a horse-car. The change of view is well illustrated by comparing Morgan's statement (I. 122) "that there is a regular progression of political institutions, from the monarchical, which are the earliest in time, on to the democratical, which are the last, the noblest, and the most intellectual," with these noble words of Powell, his friend and disciple, "The survey of governments in their totality presents one fact of profound interest to statesmen. Government by the people is the normal condition of mankind, as a broad review of human history abun-

INTRODUCTION

dantly maintains. Monarchies are temporary phases of government in the evolution of mankind from barbarism to civilization; and these monarchies with their attendant hierarchies, feudalisms, and slavery, appear only as pathologic conditions of the body politic — diseases which must be destroyed or they will destroy — and hence disappearing by virtue of the survival of the fittest. Hope for the future of society is the best-beloved daughter of Evolution.” (*Popular Science Monthly*, November, 1880, p. 121.)

But these errors in philosophy were those of his time. Morgan’s singular merit is that from the beginning he clearly saw the nature and significance of the social organization and governmental structure of the Indian community. In this we have advanced but little beyond the *League of the Iroquois*.

My thanks are due to the many friends of Mr. Morgan and students¹ of the Indian who have given me valuable assistance and suggestions, only a few of whom it is possible to name.

This reprint was first suggested by Mr. Francis W. Halsey, Editor of the *New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art*, in the number of that journal for December 2, 1899. Mr. Charles T. Porter, the only survivor of the three co-laborers in the original book, has not only contributed the Reminiscences signed by him but has been constant in kind and helpful suggestions. To General John S. Clark I am especially indebted for almost all of Mr. Morgan’s emendations appearing in the text, as well as for other information; not intending by this acknowledgment to forget the indebtedness of all students to General

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Clark for his investigations of Iroquois history. The Supplemental Map was prepared by Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D., for Bulletin No. 32 of the State Museum, and is published with his kind permission and that of the Museum. Mrs. Harriet Maxwell Converse has not only aided me herself, but has allowed me to examine General Parker's manuscripts in her possession. And if I mention last one other name, it is because there is an especial word to say. Mr. John Fiske wrote me, under date of March 20, 1900: "Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* is of course a book of the highest value. It is, indeed, a classic in that branch of literature, and such an edition of it as you propose, with its errors corrected and such annotations added as the text may here and there suggest, is exactly the sort of book that we want, and I doubt not that you are the man to do it. If I could help the enterprise in any way by writing a preface or an introductory sketch of Morgan and his work, I should be glad to do so." The Inexorable has taken the pen from the hand that wrote these words, and the hope is frustrate of a brilliant essay like that which introduces the Champlain edition of Parkman. Yet it seemed that a few words should be written to introduce to the readers of to-day this book of half a century ago.

"And," like the scribe of old, "if I have done well and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto."

HERBERT M. LLOYD.

PISECO, N. Y., October 1, 1901.



L A Morgan

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

I As one of the few now living who have a personal
I. xi, knowledge of the incidents to be described, I have
xii been asked to prepare a sketch of the events by
which Mr. Morgan was led into his remarkable career of
Ethnological research.

Mr. Morgan was one of those rare men of restless mental activity and immense and tireless energy who literally create their own environment; turning whatever circumstances they may encounter to advantage in their congenial field of achievement.

He was born in 1818, in Aurora, New York, a lovely village on the eastern shore of Cayuga Lake, the first spot settled by white men in western New York, a place always noted for culture and refinement, now the seat of Wells College. He graduated from Union College in 1840, and returned home to pursue the study of law.

Cayuga Academy, located at Aurora, was then crowded with young men from various parts of the neighboring country. Mr. Morgan, finding congenial spirits among the teachers and elder pupils in the Academy, joined with them in the formation of a secret society, under the name of "The Gordian Knot," which had no objects beyond the cultivation of good fellowship and the enjoyment of the moment.

Free Masonry had flourished in Aurora at an earlier day, and the Masonic Lodge was a prominent building in the village. But Masonry had suffered an eclipse in western New York, and the Lodge in Aurora had been disused for several years. The new secret society turned it to account. Effecting a surreptitious entrance, its members attired themselves in the

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white robes of the Masons and the splendid regalia of their officers, and held there their initiations and their harmless revels.

The members of the society were full of youthful enthusiasm, and many projects for its practical usefulness were discussed, before its earlier members became scattered through western New York, all with a mission to establish branches of the society at their own homes.

2 Immediately after his admission to the bar, Mr. Morgan I. xi settled in Rochester. There he soon gathered about him a number of young men, and formed them into a branch of the new secret society. Among these was Ely S. Parker, a full-blooded young Seneca Indian, who had come from the Tonawanda reservation to Rochester to get an education.

Parker was a phenomenal Indian. He was fully informed respecting the institutions of his own people, spoke English perfectly, and was one of the very few Indians of the Six Nations that I ever heard of who would take an education if it were offered to him. He improved his educational opportunities to the utmost, and made himself a much respected and very useful man.

More than twenty years afterwards we find him on General Grant's staff, a Brigadier-General, and made by Grant his private secretary, on account of his high intelligence and superior penmanship. The articles of Lee's capitulation are in his handwriting.

When Grant became President, he appointed Parker Commissioner of Indian Affairs. For a number of years preceding his death he was employed in the Architectural Bureau of the New York City government.

Parker was an invaluable find for Mr. Morgan. All his communication with the Indians of the Six Nations was conducted through him as interpreter.

Directly after Parker's initiation into the new society the scheme was formed for its reorganization, on the basis of the League of the Iroquois, and for devoting it to the study

REMINISCENCES OF MORGAN

and perpetuation of Indian lore, and the education of the Indians in the State of New York, and their encouragement under the new conditions of their existence.

The plan met with an enthusiastic reception, and the next summer saw a convention at Aurora, attended by about a hundred and fifty delegates from the various branches of the society, at which an organization was effected, a constitution adopted, and Sachems were elected and raised up. The

opening sentence of the Preface to the *League of the I. ix Iroquois* was the first sentence of the preamble to this constitution, written by Mr. Morgan.

The society was known to the public as "The Grand Order of the Iroquois;" but for its members, both the society and its branches were baptized with Indian names. The general name of the society was *We-yo-ha-yo-de-za-de-Na-bo-de'-no-sau-nee*, — "They who live in the home of the dwellers in the long house."

In pronouncing this name the accented syllable "de" must be pronounced "deek," with only an incipient "k," and be followed by a pause.

The new society established branches through western New York, and so far east as Utica. Its enthusiasm kept it alive for a few years, and its annual conventions held in the old Masonic Lodge in Aurora, with addresses and poems by such men as H. R. Schoolcraft and Alfred B. Street, and initiations in the woods at midnight, were well worthy to be remembered.

But efforts in behalf of the Indians met with no encouraging response on their part. As Mr. Morgan afterwards expressed it, the attempt was idle to transplant them across two or three ethnic periods. As for their remains, beyond the beautiful names they had given to our lakes and streams, there were none. The Indian is an evanescent being, and leaves behind him no more trace of his existence than a summer cloud.

When the active existence of the society had ended,

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it was found that its final outcome, and one well worthy to be its single fruitage, was Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*.

But to this there had afterwards to be added his remarkable series of original ethnological investigations, the grasp of which comprehended all ancient society, and which he pursued with an enduring enthusiasm through his life. These all had their genesis in the old Masonic Hall in Aurora, which the ethnological pilgrim may still find in good preservation, not far from the house in which Lewis H. Morgan first saw the light.

4 The society seemed, however, to have been raised II. 121 up to do one other useful work. The Ogden Land Company, who held the pernicious pre-emptive right to purchase the Indian reservations in New York, whenever the Indians should be willing to sell, had, by the methods which have been fitly characterized by Mr. Morgan, got from the Tonawanda band a treaty for the sale of their reservation; and this treaty was before the United States Senate for ratification. The new society made it its business to secure the rejection of this treaty. For this purpose it circulated petitions throughout western New York, and sent Mr. Morgan to Washington to make a personal presentation of the evidences of the fraud. He found the Senators astonished at the flood of petitions that had poured in upon them, and quite ready to listen to his presentation of the case. The result was the rejection of the treaty by a decisive vote, and the security of the Indians on all their reservations ever since.

This was indeed an invaluable service. For the prominent part that he took in it, Mr. Morgan became widely known as the friend of the Indians, — a distinction which he found most valuable in his subsequent investigations. Everything was communicated to him with a cordial frankness and fulness that prevented him from falling into errors, which are inevitable when information is given with reserve or perhaps with intentional inaccuracy. He found no trouble in getting to the very heart of things. For example, he alone

VISIT TO THE SENECA

has given us the true and simple philosophy of the annual sacrifice of the white dog. This advantage has helped very much, in addition to his habitual thoroughness, to make his statements authoritative.

Not long after the rejection of the treaty, probably in 1847, Mr. Morgan was invited to visit the Indians on the Tonawanda reservation, for the purpose of being adopted into the Seneca Nation. I had the honor, together with Mr. Thomas Darling, of Auburn, New York, to accompany him. No date was fixed for this visit. The Indians were always at home. We went in a pleasant season, and when we knew we should find Ely Parker there.

Our entry into the reservation was not especially dignified. We had a walk of some three or four miles, if I remember correctly, across the country from the railway station; when we came to a stream, which was the boundary of the reservation on that side. The stream was about fifteen yards wide, and only from a foot to eighteen inches deep. There was no bridge. Indians have no use for bridges. A dug-out canoe was hauled up on the bank. The water was clear and the bottom quite distinct. Seeing how shallow it was, I concluded to wade across. Morgan and Darling agreed to utilize the canoe. This having been partially launched, Darling wrapped himself in his cloak, and took his seat on the bottom of the canoe at the forward end. Morgan gave it its final shove, and jumped in. In doing this he tipped the canoe over. He saved himself from a worse ducking by leaping nimbly into the water, but poor Darling in his helpless position was rolled out. After righting and securing the canoe, they had to wade across after all.

Our visit lasted ten days. The forenoons were devoted by Mr. Morgan to filling his note-book; the afternoons to witnessing games and dances got up in our honor, and the evenings mostly to hearing Indian traditions, in which I remember feeling deeply interested at the time, but of which I do not now remember a word.

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5 The ceremony of adoption was a very simple one.
I. xi, In fact, all of it I can now recall was a long address
332 by old Jimmy Johnson, the religious teacher of the
Indians; and that each of us received a name, and was made
a member of a particular tribe, a different one in each case,
and learned who were our brothers, and who were only our
cousins, — all long ago forgotten.

(Mr. Morgan has left an account of this adoption in a
foot-note on page 81 of *Ancient Society*, by which it appears
that he at least was taken into the Hawk clan. The cere-
mony took place at the council-house. The address men-
tioned by Mr. Porter included an account of Messrs.
Morgan, Darling and Porter, the reasons for adopting
them, the clans and persons adopting them, and the
names they were to receive. Then each neophyte was es-
corted by two chiefs up and down the council-house. The
chiefs held their new brother by the arms and chanted the
song of adoption as they marched, the people responding
in musical chorus at the end of each verse. At the end
of the third lap, the song and the march ceased together.
— H. M. L.)

6 The morning sessions with the oldest Indians, held
II. 96 with them individually in their own houses, were
very interesting. A number of these were devoted by Mr.
Morgan to obtaining geographical names, Parker, as always,
acting as interpreter. I was full of admiration of these old
men, who in their youth had hunted over all western New
York, and who showed such a wonderful acquaintance with
the location and course of every river and stream. In fact,
the whole map appeared to exist in their minds. They
seemed to have developed another sense, which we, who
depend upon books and maps, and do not live in life-long
familiarity with nature, do not possess. They were men of
the woods, who, with nothing to depend on but their powers
of observation and memory, in trackless forests could never
lose their way.

DANCE AND FEAST

7 Our initiation was followed by a dance in the council-house, in which we were allowed to participate, and were provided with partners. This was the only dance we witnessed in which the women took part. Then for the first time my ears were regaled with Indian music. Two young men were seated, on opposite sides of a drum, which looked to me very much like a nail-keg. On this they pounded violently with sticks, as an accompaniment to the most discordant howling. The Indian has no conception of musical intervals. The performance had therefore the attraction of complete novelty. But they kept good time, and the dancing was animated.

This was followed by a curious feast. A bullock had been killed and cut up in the Indian fashion; that is, all the flesh had been cut into small pieces, and made into a stew. The large kettles in which this had been boiled were taken into the council-house, and set in a row in the middle of the floor, and the dancing was in a procession around them. The dancers were in pairs, facing each other, about six feet apart, one moving forward and the other backward, with a shuffling step. Every minute or two, on a signal from the leader, all changed places. I remember that my partner, by a sudden exclamation, saved me from dancing backwards into a kettle of hot stew. Every family had brought a pail, and at the conclusion of the dance these pails were filled, and the stew was carried home to be eaten.

I was much impressed, on another afternoon, by a grand thanksgiving dance, performed by thirty or forty young men, attired in Indian full dress, that is, in head feathers and the breech cloth. This dance was really inspiring. It was a slowly advancing processional dance, in single file. Each dancer seemed to follow his own inspiration, and all appeared to vie with each other in the vigor of their steps and the stateliness of their postures. This exhibition of animated statuary, with the varied and majestic character of their movements, had a grandeur which to my mind was most suggestive

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of the sentiment of worship which it was intended to express. Just in this manner, doubtless, King David "danced before the Lord with all his might."

We were entertained in several houses, different families taking us in turn, and all apparently proud to do so. The entertainment, however, was everywhere the same. We enjoyed most the hospitality of Parker's father, who was a rather progressive Indian, belonging to the Christian party, and who spoke a little English. His daughter Caroline, whom the society was having educated in the State Normal School at Albany, was then at home, and helped much to make it pleasant for us. She seemed quite as exceptional as her brother Ely.

8 We were naturally interested in what we should
II. 30 get to eat. The reader may be amused by a description of our breakfast. Corn was kept on the cob. The inner husks were turned back and braided together; the ears being arranged like a bunch of Chinese crackers. The first thing every morning some of these were unbraided, and the corn was shelled by rubbing two ears together. The corn was then boiled for a few minutes in a kettle with ashes. This completely removed the skin and cortex from every kernel. The former floated, and were poured off with the water. The latter, softened sufficiently to be pounded into meal, were washed in clean water and placed in the mortar, which was a tree stump hollowed out. Two women, standing on opposite sides of the mortar, with their pounders soon made the corn fine enough. We were awakened every morning by the sound of the pounders all over the reservation. I have often wondered why a process somewhat similar to boiling in ashes was not employed by millers who grind Indian corn for human food, for the same purpose which that accomplished so effectually.

The meal was then mixed with black beans, and made into cakes about an inch thick and six or eight inches in diameter, without salt or leaven. These cakes were set on edge in a

RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT

pot of water, and boiled for perhaps half an hour, when breakfast was ready. Our beverage was hemlock tea, without milk or sugar. Dinner was the same, except that the corn and beans were made into succotash, instead of cakes, and sometimes we had beef stew.

When we left, a brother of Ely Parker, a lad about twelve years old, drove us over to the village where we were to take the train, and we invited him to dine with us. At dinner he stared at us with distending eyeballs, and at last exclaimed, "How you eat! You make me think of the appetite I had once, after I had been a week with the white folks and could hardly eat anything."

A mission was maintained on the reservation, in charge of a Baptist clergyman, whom we did not meet. We learned afterwards with regret that this good man was much distressed by our visit, the tendency of which was to lead the Indians back to their games and dances, from which, the latter especially, he was doing his best to wean them to civilized ways and Christianity. But the Indians were not idolaters; and who ever heard of any Christians who were more grateful to the Giver of all for so little?

I have often thought that, of all men I have personally known, Lewis H. Morgan was most singularly entitled to have inscribed over his life-work this line from his favorite Horace,—

"Exegi monumentum ære perennius."

CHARLES TALBOT PORTER.

MONTCLAIR, N. J., 6th February, 1901.

LEWIS H. MORGAN

IN the first Assembly of Connecticut Colony sat James Morgan and John Steele, the paternal and maternal immigrant ancestors of Lewis H. Morgan. In 1636, James Morgan, with his younger brother Miles, had emigrated to New England. From these two brothers all the Morgans prominent in the annals of New York and New England are believed to be descended. Among the descendants of James Morgan was the Hon. Jedediah Morgan, who, at the time of his death in 1826, represented his Senatorial District in the New York Legislature. He married Harriet Steele, a descendant of John Steele above named, who emigrated from England before 1632, is said to have lived for a while near Cambridge, and was one of the founders of Hartford. In the venerable homestead which still stands on Washington Street in that city, Harriet Steele was born. Her great-grandfather, Samuel Steele, a grandson of John, had married, in 1680, Mercy Bradford, granddaughter of Governor William Bradford of Plymouth Colony. Through her Mr. Morgan's ancestry is traced back to the "Mayflower."

The son of Jedediah Morgan and Harriet Steele, his wife, Lewis Henry Morgan was born at Aurora, New York, November 21, 1818. After receiving a good education at Cayuga Academy in his native town and at Union College, from which he was graduated in 1840, he was admitted to the bar in Rochester, where he formed a partnership with George F. Danforth, afterwards a judge of the Court of Appeals. In 1855 Morgan became interested in a railroad from Marquette, Michigan, to the Lake Superior Iron region. This investment proved profitable, and soon required so much attention as to

SKETCH OF MORGAN

withdraw him from his law practice, which he never actively resumed.

It is interesting to note that many of those who have taken an interest in early American history and in the study of the Aborigines have been active in political life, and Morgan served twice in the New York Legislature, — in 1861 in the Assembly, and in 1868 in the Senate. It is hardly necessary to mention that in public as in private life his sincerity and energy were notable. He travelled extensively in the United States, visiting many Indian tribes in their homes, was a member of many scientific societies both at home and abroad, became in 1868 a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1880 was President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The degree of LL.D. came to him from Union College. December 17, 1881, he died. In 1851 Mr. Morgan was married to his cousin Miss Mary A. Steele, daughter of Lemuel Steele, of Albany; of their children only one, Mr. Lemuel Morgan, of Rochester, survived his father. Under Morgan's will his estate, which was considerable, will ultimately pass to Rochester University for the establishment of a college for women.

Mr. Porter has told us the interesting story of the beginning of Mr. Morgan's interest in the Iroquois. It must not be forgotten that the opportunity for the intimate knowledge of Indian institutions which bore such valuable fruit came to him as the voluntary champion of the Senecas against injustice. The righteous and generous enthusiasm of this young man gained a new field for science, and for himself undying fame.

9 Securing the full confidence and gratitude of the I. xi, Senecas, he was, on October 31, 1847, adopted into ^{264, 332} the Hawk clan "as the son of Jimmy Johnson," *Sose-ha'wa*, receiving the name of *Tä-yä-dä-o-wuh'-kuh* "one lying across," that is, a bridge or bond of union between the Indians and the white men.

At the "Councils of the New Confederacy of the Iro-

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quois," the society described by Mr. Porter, Mr. Morgan read during the years 1844-46 various papers containing the results of his researches among the Senecas, and these were in 1847 amplified and arranged under the title of *Letters on the Iroquois, by Skenandoah, addressed to Albert Gallatin, LL.D., President New York Historical Society*, and were published during that year in the numbers of *The American Review; a Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science*, for the months of February, March, May, November, and December. These sixteen letters were, in fact, a first printing of the material contained in the present volume. The advertisement to the Letters is worth reprinting:—

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"It is proper to observe, that many parts of the following letters were read on several occasions in the years 1844, 5, & 6, before the Councils of the New Confederacy of the Iroquois; and to the establishment of that historical institution, the research by which the facts were accumulated, is chiefly to be attributed. The Institution referred to is founded upon the ancient Confederacy of the Five Nations; and its symbolic council-fires are kindled upon the ancient territories of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. In the design from which it originated—to gather the fragments of the history, the institutions, and the government of our Indian predecessors, and to encourage a kinder feeling towards the Red Man—literary and moral objects are presented, in themselves as attractive to the scholar and the moralist as they are dignified and just. If, in pursuing this design, the new Confederacy shall eventually trace out the footsteps of the Iroquois beside our rivers, hills, and lakes—preserving thus the vestiges of their existence; and shall extend to the small residue of their descendants, still within our limits, the hand of kindness and protection, it will have achieved a work not unworthy of after praise."

Morgan had in 1846 read before the New York Historical

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Society an essay on the Constitutional Government of the Six Nations of Indians, which though not printed under that name may no doubt substantially be found in the *Letters*, and it is probable that the substance of all the letters was read before the society.

The first eleven letters were in 1848 reprinted in *The Olden Time, an Antiquarian Magazine*, then published in Pittsburgh. In 1849 and 1850 in New York and Canada Mr. Morgan collected for the State Museum at Albany a number of articles of Iroquois manufacture, and in the second, third, and fifth reports of the Board of Regents on the Museum are pictures, prepared under his supervision, of many of these articles, with descriptive text from his pen. In 1851 he brought together and revised the *Letters on the Iroquois*, and some of the descriptions in the Museum reports, and published them with some new matter in a single volume, the *League of the Iroquois*. This book, says a high authority, "was the first scientific account of an Indian tribe ever given to the world," and it entitles Mr. Morgan to the name of father of American Anthropology. Its value was at once appreciated, and it has ever since been recognized as a classic of literature and as the first authority in all matters relating to the Iroquois.

If we eliminate from this book the historical errors into which Mr. Morgan was led by relying on other writers, and the recitals of the false theories of the origins of government and society which then prevailed, and which he was soon himself to destroy, we have a work which has stood and will stand the test of time, both as science and as literature.

The book had the good fortune to be reviewed by Francis Parkman (*Christian Examiner*, May, 1851), who said:—

"And here a new sun has arisen, revealing the scene before us in all its breadth and depth. Mr. Morgan's work on the aboriginal tribes of New York is a production of singular merit."

10 "To find fault with a book of so much merit is not a
I. 54 pleasing task, but in truth Mr. Morgan has been led into some degree of error by the very zeal and devotion with

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which he has labored. He ascribes to the Iroquois legislators a wisdom of forecast and a refining spirit beyond what is, as we conceive, justly their due. In his pages their peculiar institutions assume an appearance of too much studied adjustment and careful elaboration."

"We cordially commend the work of Mr. Morgan to the study of all to whom the character and customs of those who preceded us on this soil are objects of interest."

In 1880 (*Pop. Sci. Monthly*, November) Major J. W. Powell, Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, wrote:—

II "The work is not entirely free from the nomencla-
I. 74 ture of sociology previously, and to some extent since, used by writers on our North American Indians, in which tribes are described as nations and the institutions of tribal or barbaric life defined in terms used in national or civilized life. But the series of organic units was discovered among the Iroquois and was correctly defined, though the confederacy was called a league, the tribe a nation, and the gens a tribe. In like manner kinship as the bond of union was fully recognized."

Mr. Morgan's second book was the result of observations made on fishing excursions in northern Michigan, taken in the intervals of his railroad work in that country. This book, *The American Beaver and his Works*, published in 1868, would in itself support no small reputation. The same sympathy and insight which made aboriginal institutions an open book to him extended even to the lower animals. An intimate friend says: "He did not fully agree with the commonly received doctrine, that they were simply for the uses of man, but inclined to the opinion that they were created for their own happiness and welfare, and should be treated accordingly. He did not like to hear them called brutes. I well remember that on a certain occasion when I had applied this word to the animals, he said, 'You ought not to use that word; it has a bad sense; you should call them the mutes.'" (*The Life and Works of Lewis H. Morgan, LL.D.*, an address at his

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funeral by Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, D.D.) The word mute is, in fact, used throughout *The Beaver* in the sense of animal other than man.

In his studies of the beaver, Morgan made in the country south of Lake Superior a fine collection of specimens of beaver-gnawed wood, which in 1866 he gave to the New York State Museum.

12 In the fourth chapter of the *League of the Iroquois*

I. 81 Morgan had mentioned the peculiar system of relationship which he had found among the Senecas. Its significance he did not then appreciate, but reflection convinced him that some great fact in the history of society lay behind this apparent eccentricity. Dr. McIlvaine says, in the address already quoted: "His intimacy with this aboriginal people made him acquainted with a striking feature of their system of kinship — their mode of characterizing their relationships and affinities with each other. He found that they called, in systematic manner, those their brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, fathers and mothers, who were not such in reality. This apparent confusion of relationships had been often noticed before, but no one had ever seen in it anything but confusion, and the reign of utter unreason. Not a glimpse of any significance in it had ever been discerned. To illustrate this I will mention that when one of the papers describing this strange system of relationships was read before our Rochester Club, of which our friend was one of the original founders, the beloved and lamented Dr. Chester Dewey being the other, one of the most distinguished members of the Club remarked that he 'could see nothing in it but the total depravity and perversity of the Indian mind — that it could ever have thought of such utterly absurd ways of characterizing relationships and affinities.' After our friend had mastered the peculiarities of this Iroquois system, his next stage was the discovery, to his great surprise, that it was substantially identical with that of the Dakota tribes in the far West. This led him to his first great generalization; for the power of generalization was one of the

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most distinguished traits of his mind. Now, then, it occurred to him that this Iroquois and Dakota system of relationships might be common to all the aborigines of both North and South America. This was followed by ten years of study, travel among the Indian tribes, and investigation, in every direction on the continent, to discover whether his generalization could, or could not, be verified. The result was such as to leave no room for doubt — this peculiar way of designating their relationships and affinities was universal among all the Indian tribes of America. Thus he reached one of the strongest arguments that have ever been given for the unity of the whole Indian race — that it is of one and the same blood or stock — a result which all preceding and subsequent investigation has tended to confirm and establish.

“When he had attained to this stage in his inquiries a second and wider generalization occurred to him, namely, that possibly the system might be found among the Turanian Tribes of the old continents, including the ante-Brahmanical population of India — among those portions of the human race which were in conditions most similar to that of the aborigines of this country, and from which these might have been derived. This led him into another ten years of study and investigation, extending over a very large portion of the human race, during which, through the co-operation of the Smithsonian Institution, which had by this time become deeply interested in his studies, he was sending out his schedules of questions to the missionaries and consuls wherever they were stationed, and getting his returns. During this period he lived and worked often in a state of great mental excitement, and the answers he received, as they came in, sometimes nearly overpowered him. I well remember one occasion when he came into my study, saying, ‘I shall find it, I shall find it among the Tamil people and Dravidian tribes of Southern India.’ At this time I had no expectation of any such result; and I said to him, ‘My friend, you have enough to do in working out your discovery in connection with the

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in a large quarto volume, entitled *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. But until that work was nearly ready for the press, our friend had not perceived any material significance or explanation of the immense body of entirely new facts which he had discovered and collected. He could not at all account for them. In fact, he regarded this system, or these slightly varying forms of one system, as invented and wholly artificial, so different was it from that which now prevails in civilized society, and which evidently follows the flow of the blood. During all these years, he had not the least conception of any process of thought in which it could have originated, or of anything which could have caused it so universally to prevail. He treated it as something which must throw great light upon prehistoric man, but what light he had not discovered. Before the work was finished, however, he obtained and adopted an hypothesis which, rigorously applied to its peculiarities, he found would account for, explain, and render them all intelligible. This hypothesis was, that it followed the flow of the blood at the time it originated, as that which now prevails follows the flow of the blood; and consequently, that the actual relationships of human beings to each other were then very different from what they are now. In other words, the reason why people called those their fathers who would not be their fathers now, was because they either were their fathers or were undistinguishable from their fathers, by reason of a common cohabitation with their mothers. The reason why they called those their mothers who would not be their mothers now, was that these mothers were the wives in common of their fathers, just as we call mothers-in-law and step-mothers our mothers. The reason why they called them their brothers and sisters who would not be such now, was, either because they actually were such, or were undistinguishable from them by reason of the common cohabitation of their parents with each other. And so of all the other relationships of the system.

MORGAN'S DISCOVERIES

“The adoption of this explanation of the vast body of facts which he had gathered, worked a complete revolution in the mind of our friend, and enabled him to pour a great flood of light upon the primitive condition of mankind, with respect to marriage and relationship, and all other things therewith connected, beyond all that had ever been known. With this instrument in his hand, he now proceeded precisely as Newton did with his hypothesis of gravitation, which gave him his grand principle of ratiocination. He reasoned: If this hypothesis be correct, then such and such facts will be found in the physical and stellar worlds. Then he would raise his telescope and look, and there invariably the facts predicted by the hypothesis would be found. Thus he marched through the physical universe, making discoveries in every direction, like a mighty conqueror subduing and overrunning and taking possession of a hostile country. Precisely in the same way our friend now reasoned from his grand generalization and hypothesis. He said: If it be correct, then such a fact or facts I shall find; and he also would raise his mental telescope and look for them in the past experience of mankind, where they were sure to be found. Thus he discovered literally thousands of new facts, and was enabled to render intelligible thousands previously known, but which hitherto had been inexplicable. Thus he was enabled to evolve the conditions of human society, of man's relations to man, where the darkness of prehistoric ages had hidden almost everything from view, and to carry the light of science thousands of years farther back than it had ever been carried by any other. In fact, the origin of human society was thus more nearly disclosed than it had ever been — the origin of marriage, of kin, of social organization, of social and political institutions, of morality, of industry, and of civilization itself. The germs of all these discoveries are found in his great work published by the Smithsonian on *Consanguinity and Affinity*, in which it is shown that the human race universally have come up by slow

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progressive steps through many thousands of years from a state in which they lived in such communal relations that parents and children, brothers and sisters, and other kinships, were practically undistinguishable, except in a general way, and in some particular cases, where it was impossible that they should be confounded; in a state in which marriage between one man and one woman was unknown; in a depth of degradation which is absolutely inconceivable to us. But his final results are given us in his later work on *Ancient Society*, which placed him in the front rank of Science in Archæology, Ethnology, Sociology, Anthropology, and Political Philosophy. I venture to affirm that hereafter there can be no adequate science in these departments of knowledge which does not include the results of our friend's labors.

"For in this work he has shown us how all the blessings of morality, liberty, society, industry, and civilization, and even all our free institutions, which are our pride, have grown up and been developed through regular stages from a few germs originally planted in the soil of the human mind far back in the prehistoric ages. He has proved that, with occasional retrocessions, there has been a constant growth in these respects, so that it is no longer an insoluble problem, as it formerly was, how a people can pass out of savagery and barbarism into civilization. For it is not long since an eminent French savant placed on record the statement, 'Never yet has it been discovered that any tribe or people have, by their own energy, attained to a civilized state.' That problem has been finally solved by our friend's labors, and can never come back again to perplex the human mind.

"He has established also many other great and permanent results, which can never again be called in question. Among these is the unity of the human race: that it is properly one race, one species, and, no doubt, derived from one stock. For at the time he commenced his labors, scientists were discussing this subject, and some of them favored a diversity of origin for mankind. Even the lamented Professor Agassiz was

VALUE OF MORGAN'S WORK

inclined to the opinion that they had originated at different centres, in swarms like bees. But our friend's investigations go farther back than those of any other inquirer, and he has established this truth, that, under similar conditions, at the same stages of development, the human mind invariably proceeds by similar methods, and reaches similar results, in industry and morality, in social and political institutions, and in all the great fields of investigation and research. Thus I think he has contributed more to the establishment of a unity of species in the race than any other who has ever touched the subject.

"Another grand result of his labors is a demonstration that progress is a fundamental law of human society, and one which has always prevailed, — progress in thought and knowledge, in industry, in morality, in social organization, in institutions, and in all other things tending to, or advancing, civilization and general well-being. He recognized that occasional and partial retardations and backward movements have taken place; that peculiar circumstances have sometimes, in some portions of the race, frustrated for a time this progressive tendency; but he has shown that the combined and co-operative energies of mankind have always resulted in substantial progress, such as renders it certain that this law will always continue to operate in the future, and that in a geometrical ratio. In fact, he was accustomed to say that the progress which had been achieved during the long ages of savagery and barbarism seemed to him to be greater in absolute amount than that which has taken place during the comparatively brief period of civilization; and he anticipated an immeasurable development in the future, beyond all conceptions that we are now able to form."

In more formal manner these studies may now be traced. As early as 1856 Morgan had read, at the Albany Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a paper on *The Laws of Descent of the Iroquois*. This paper received such attention that he was encouraged to per-

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severe in this line of investigation. Being at Marquette in 1858, he discovered in conversation with an Ojibwa that the Ojibwa social organization was founded on the same clan system that he had found among the Iroquois, and this although the language and stock were entirely different. Now for the first time it occurred to Morgan that the known instances of this system might not be the invention of a single people, but examples of a widespread and fundamental form of society.

To this end he began to send out schedules of inquiry, in which he soon gained the co-operation of the Smithsonian Institution.

In 1871 the work first referred to by Dr. McIlvaine was published by the Smithsonian Institution as Volume XVII. in its series of *Contributions to Knowledge*, the book being entitled *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, 600 pages quarto. While this book is essentially a volume of facts, and only a brief and rather unsatisfactory discussion of the facts was undertaken (Powell), the mere compilation of such a volume marks a turning-point in the sciences which treat of man as a social being. The meaning of these facts came to Morgan gradually, and his growing understanding of them and of important correlated facts of Ethnology can be traced in a series of articles in the *North American Review*: *The Seven Cities of Cibola*, April, 1869; *Indian Migrations*, October, 1869, and January, 1870; *Montezuma's Dinner*, April, 1876; *The Houses of the Mound Builders*, July, 1876.

It may be said with certainty that a finer statement of the principles and canons of American Ethnology than the third-named article might be written, and with almost equal certainty that it never has been. In *Montezuma's Dinner* the romances concerning aboriginal America which had long passed as veritable history are dissected by the keen knife of a delicious satire. The living Indian is placed before us, and one by one are deftly removed the European garments with which early writers sought to cover his nakedness, while the

MORGAN'S WRITINGS

gewgaws which modern historians and romancers have pinned upon this apparel fall away also, and we see for the first time the barbarian as he is. As literature, this essay is enjoyable; as science, it is indispensable.

Morgan had now reached the height of his powers, and had solved the problem to which his labors had so long been devoted. The principles sketched in *Montezuma's Dinner* were elaborately stated in *Ancient Society*, published in 1877, which is not only Morgan's most important work, but also the only one of his books still in print.

His last book, in which many of the achievements of his earlier works were restated in final form, was *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*, issued in 1881 by the United States Geological Survey as Vol. IV. of *Contributions to North American Ethnology*.

Morgan's work in the domain of Ethnology is quite comparable to that of Darwin in another field. By much the same methods and by a touch of the same genius these great intellects achieved results for which mankind is their debtor and which must be accepted as the foundations of the sciences to which they gave their lives. The parallel holds good at the beginning of their careers. *The Voyage of the Beagle*, a book of observations, of suggestion, of beginnings, valuable in itself and invaluable in its promise of the great discoveries to come, finds in these respects its complete counterpart, and in literary merit and present interest its superior, in the *League of the Iroquois*.

WRITINGS OF LEWIS H. MORGAN

1846. An Essay on the Constitutional Government of the Six Nations of Indians. Read before the New York Historical Society. Not printed.
1847. Letters on the Iroquois by Skenandoah. *The American (Whig) Review*, New York, February, March, May, November and December, 1847, fourteen letters in all. The first eleven letters were reprinted in *The Olden Time*, an Antiquarian Magazine, Pittsburgh, 1848.

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1848. Communications (on Indian Art), with ground plans of Trench Enclosures or Fort Hills in Western New York. In 2d Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York on the State Cabinet, etc.
1851. Report upon the articles furnished to the Indian Collection. In 3rd do.
Schedule of Iroquois Articles in the Catalogue of the Cabinet of Natural History of the State of New York. In same.
1852. Report on the Fabrics, Inventions, Implements and Utensils of the Iroquois. In 5th do.
1850. The Fabrics of the Iroquois (same material as Regents Reports much abbreviated). Stryker's American Register and Magazine, Vol. IV. July, 1850. Trenton, N. J.
1851. League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois. Sage and Brother, Rochester.
1853. List of Articles Manufactured by the Indians of Western New York and Canada West. In Catalogue of Cabinet of Natural History of the State of New York, Albany.
1856. The Laws of Descent of the Iroquois. Proceedings of American Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. XI.
1859. The Indian Method of Bestowing and Changing Names. Proceedings of American Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. XIII.
1860. Circular in Reference to the Degrees of Relationship among Different Nations. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. II.
1861. Suggestions for an Ethnological Map of North America. In Smithsonian Report for 1861. (The map, closely following the lines suggested, was prepared by Powell and published to accompany Bur. Eth., 1885-86.)
1868. The American Beaver and his Works. Philadelphia.
1868. A Conjectural Solution of the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationship. In Proceedings Am. Acad. Arts & Science, February, 1868, Vol. VII.
1868. The Stone and Bone Implements of the Arickarees. In 21st Annual Report, etc., on State Cabinet, Albany.
1869. The Seven Cities of Cibola. In North American Review for April, 1869.

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- 1869-70. Indian Migrations. In *North American Review* for October, 1869, and January, 1870.
1871. Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. XVII.
1872. Australian Kinship. *Proceedings Am. Acad. Arts and Sciences*, March, 1872, Vol. VIII.
1875. Ethnical Periods. *Proc. Am. Ass'n, for Advancement of Science*, Vol. XXIV.
Arts of Subsistence. Do.
1876. Montezuma's Dinner. In *North American Review*, April, 1876.
1876. Houses of the Mound Builders. In *North American Review*, July, 1876.
1877. Ancient Society. Henry Holt & Co., New York.
1880. On the Ruins of a Stone Pueblo on the Animas River in New Mexico, with a ground plan. In 12th Ann. Rept. Peabody Museum of Am. Archaeol. & Ethnol., Cambridge. Objects of an Expedition to New Mexico and Central America. Statement presented to the Archaeological Institute of America. March, 1880. Boston.
- A Study of the Houses of the American Aborigines, with a scheme of exploration of the Ruins in New Mexico and elsewhere. In 1st Ann. Rept. Archaeol. Inst. of America, 1880.
1881. Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines, being Vol. IV. of U. S. Geological Survey, *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Washington.

Letter in *The Nation*. The Hue and Cry against the Indian, in No. 577.

Book Reviews in *The Nation*. Chadbourne on Instinct, in No. 357, and supplemental note in No. 371. Figuier's *Human Race*, in No. 387. Lyell's *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man*, in No. 430.

Powell states, in his sketch of Morgan (*Pop. Sci. Monthly*, December, 1880) that between 1840 and 1844 Morgan wrote occasional articles for the *Knickerbocker Magazine* and other periodicals. None of these have been identified.

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The number of copies of the *League of the Iroquois* originally printed and the number of editions cannot now be determined.

The ordinary copies are bound in black cloth, and the map and plates are uncolored. A few copies, probably less than twenty, were made on special paper, the map and plates being colored by hand. These had full gilt edges, and were bound in red morocco. Only one copy is known of a third variety, bound in boards with morocco corners and back, gilt top, other edges marble; in this copy only the map and the two full-length figures are colored.

The copy used in preparing these notes is a handsome specimen of the second variety. It was presented by Mr. Morgan to his sister Mrs. Charles T. Porter, and is now the property of her grandson, Charles Talbot Porter, Jr.

ELY S. PARKER

13 ELY SAMUEL PARKER, a full-blood Seneca of the
I. xi Wolf clan and a grand-nephew of the famous Red Jacket, was born in 1828 on the Tonawanda Reservation in western New York. His father, Chief William Parker, had fought under Winfield Scott in the War of 1812, and although dwelling on the reservation, had his farm and saw-mill, and lived much like other farmers in western New York. Ely Parker's Seneca name at the date of Mr. Morgan's writing was Ha-sa-no-an-da, "Coming to the front," but this was laid aside when he received the name of Do-ne-ho-ga-wa, as he wrote it himself, "Open door," his official name as the Eighth Sachem of the Seneca tribe. ("Do-ne-ho-ga-weh," see text, I. 61.)

After receiving a good common-school education, Parker studied civil engineering, and at the outbreak of the Civil War was employed as engineer upon the United States Government building in Galena, Illinois, in which town Ulysses S. Grant was also then residing. The friendship of the two men, begun in Galena, continued when both had joined the Union Army. Parker's distinguished service in the Vicksburg campaign further commended him to Grant, and he was then taken upon Grant's staff, and served in the Adjutant-General's department, continuing with Grant until the close of the war. In May, 1863, he was made Assistant Adjutant-General with the rank of Captain. On April 9, 1865, he became Brigadier-General of Volunteers, in 1866 a First Lieutenant of Cavalry, United States Army, on March 2, 1867, Captain, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Brigadier-General United States Army.

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In consequence of their intimate relations as well as of Parker's excellent handwriting, which General Horace Porter, in his *Campaigning with Grant*, says presented a better appearance than that of any one else on the staff, Grant intrusted Parker with his personal as well as his official correspondence, and he became the General's chief secretary.

It thus came to pass that at Lee's surrender Parker was present. The first draft of the articles was made by Grant. Parker then took it, made some changes at Grant's dictation, and then made in ink the formal draft which was signed by Grant and delivered by Parker. To Parker as Secretary was delivered General Lee's acceptance.

In describing this interview General Porter relates the following incident: "General Grant introduced each member of his staff to General Lee. Parker being a full-blooded Indian, when Lee saw his swarthy features he looked at him with evident surprise and his eyes rested on him for several seconds. What was passing in his mind no one knew, but the natural surmise was that he at first mistook Parker for a negro, and was struck with astonishment to find that the commander of the Union Armies had one of that race on his personal staff."

It would indeed have been strange if an African had taken so prominent a part in the conclusion of the war which African slavery had caused. But it is hardly a less remarkable incident that the writings which determined the fate of the Continent were written and received by a representative of the original lords of the soil. The tomahawk of the Iroquois, so potent in the seventeenth century, had in the nineteenth yielded place to his pen.

General Parker resigned from the army in 1869 to accept from President Grant the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His administration was successful, and he took especial pride in the fact that there were no Indian troubles while it lasted. In 1871 he retired from public life and resumed the practice of his profession. He died at Fairfield, Connecticut, August 31, 1895.

ELY S. PARKER

The recognized authority and value of this book are due to the work of Parker, as well as to that of Morgan. As a sachem Parker had full knowledge of the institutions of his people, and as a man of education and culture he had both the interest and the ability necessary to make those institutions known to civilized man as no ordinary interpreter could have done. Parker was not merely Morgan's instrument, but his efficient co-worker, and the fortunate conjunction of these minds wrought much more than either could possibly have accomplished alone.

The friendship of the two men was severed only by death. In a personal letter in the possession of the writer, Parker says, under date of December 22, 1881: "I knew the Hon. L. H. Morgan well, and was as much grieved as any one at his taking off. In his death the scientific world has lost an able and painstaking coadjutor, and the Indians of the country a good friend and faithful historian."

¹⁴ The Seneca girl shown in the frontispiece to Vol. II. I. ²⁵⁷ is Miss Caroline G. Parker, General Parker's sister II. ²⁴² (her name, Ga-ha-no, means "Hanging flower"), and the young man shown in the frontispiece to Vol. I. is Nicholson Parker, a younger brother. Both died before the General. Miss Parker married John Mountpleasant, a Tuscarora, and as his widow was still living on the Tonawanda reservation when the Indian Bulletin of the Eleventh Census was completed. Her name was then Ge-keah-saw-sa, "Wild-cat," the reference being to her succession to the chief woman of the Neutrals (see text, I. 328, note 1). Her portrait at that date in civilized costume is shown opposite page 464 of that Bulletin.

She is there called "Queen of the Senecas," whatever that means.

CHARLES T. PORTER

¹⁵ CHARLES TALBOT PORTER was born January 18, I. xii 1826, at Auburn, New York. Like his friend Lewis Morgan, he came of old New England stock, and among his ancestors were Jonathan Edwards and Governors Saltonstall and Winthrop. Receiving a liberal education, he graduated at Hamilton College in 1845, and was admitted to the bar in 1847, practising for a time in Rochester and later in the City of New York. But he soon deserted the law for engineering. His fitness for his new vocation was promptly shown, and in July, 1859, he patented his first form of steam-engine governor, largely eliminating the disturbing effect of friction. Two years later he patented a novel isochronous marine-engine governor, the principles of which are now in general use, and at the same time devised a high-speed stationary engine. The importance of this device may be appreciated when it is stated that usual speeds of engines of the class which he improved were then fifty to seventy-five revolutions per minute, and that they could not safely be driven beyond that rate. The Porter governor and the Allen valve-motion were the characteristics of the Porter-Allen engine, which became a standard, and at the International Exhibition in London in 1862 astonished every one by its power, speed, smooth operation, and excellent steam distribution. This invention lies at the basis of modern steam engineering and especially of its use for the generation of electricity. The persistent and unconquerable spirit of Mr. Porter is evidenced in the history of this long and ultimately successful contest with prejudice, adverse interests, and inherent difficulties of design, construction, and operation. He

CHARLES T. PORTER

spent several years, 1862-68, abroad, largely to introduce his new engine. Later he established it in this country and exhibited a new form of water-tube boiler to meet the demand for safe utilization of high-pressure steam.

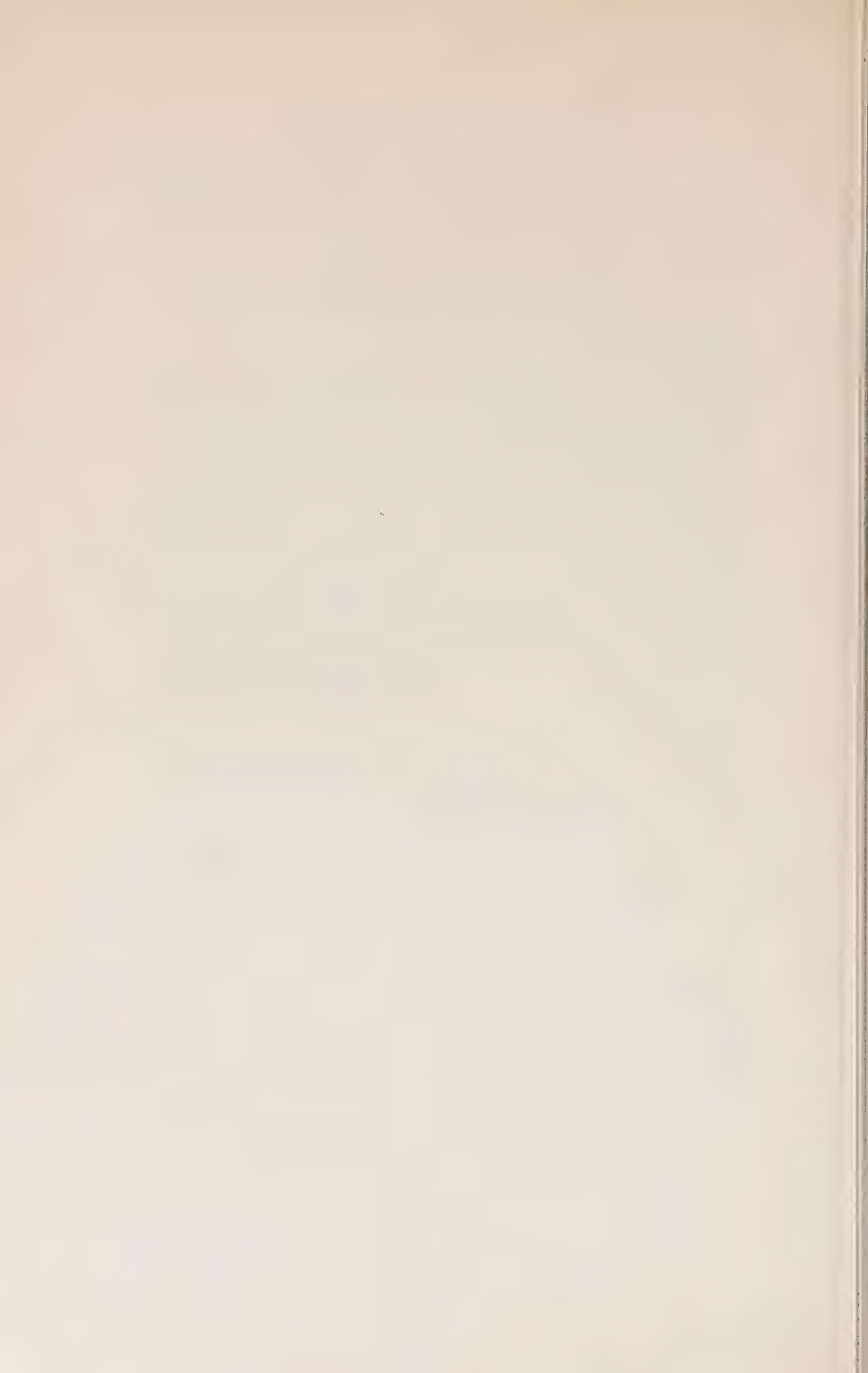
In 1874 Mr. Porter published a treatise on the steam-engine indicator which is "among the most admirable and useful of engineering classics."

In 1885 he published a very notable philosophical work, *Mechanics and Faith; a Study of Spiritual Truth in Nature*, a work in which the author's clear-sightedness, spiritual and intellectual integrity and earnestness, as well as acuteness, are admirably illustrated.

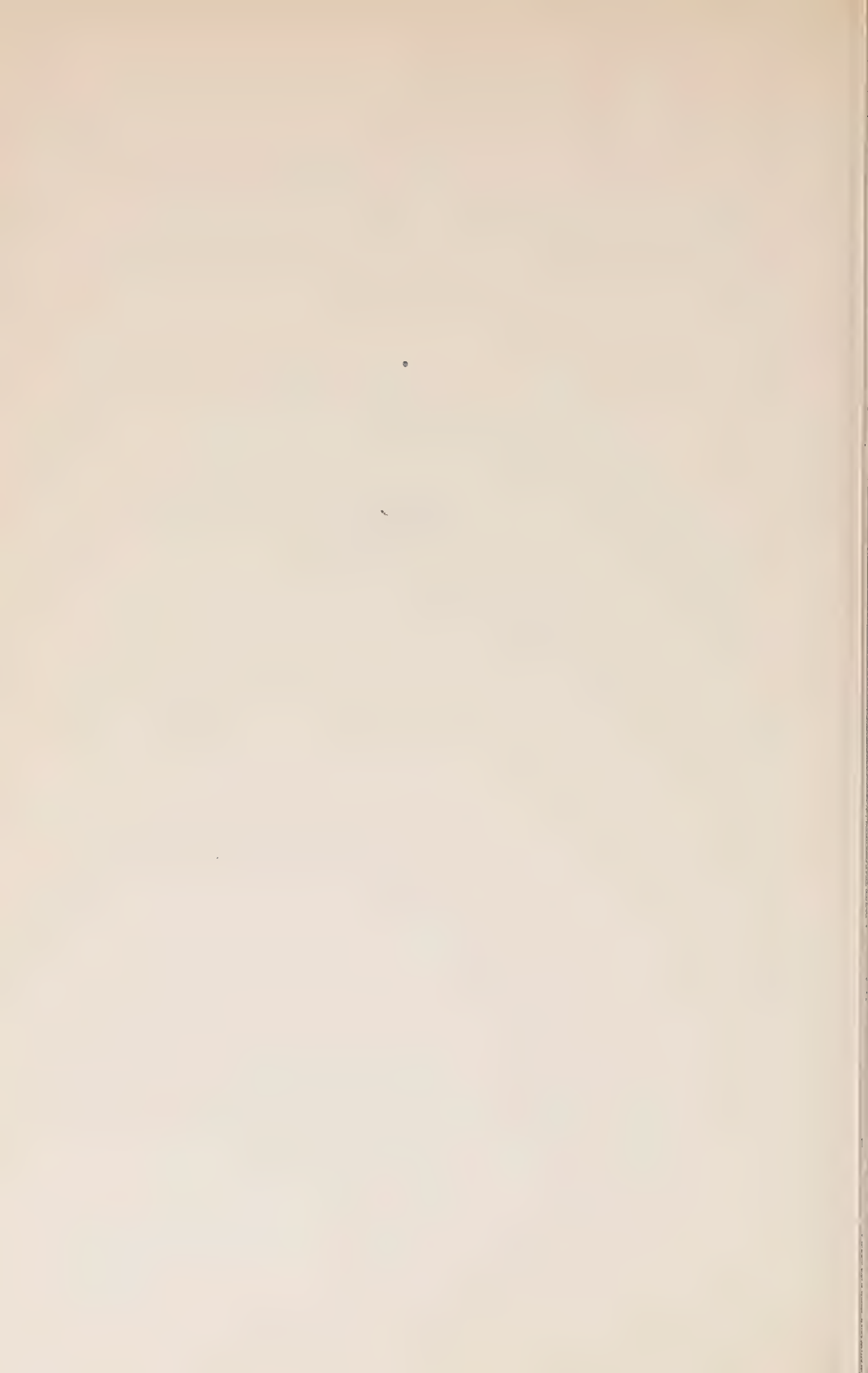
Mr. Porter is an Honorary Member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, of which he was one of the founders.

In 1848 he married Miss Hariette Morgan, sister of his intimate friend Lewis H. Morgan. Mr. and Mrs. Porter are residents of Montclair, New Jersey.

ROBERT H. THURSTON.



NOTES



NOTES

HISTORY

16 THE peoples of the Iroquoian stock, so named from
p. 5 its best known representatives, were found by Europeans in three separate regions of North America (*Bur. Eth.*, 1885-86, Map). In the mountain district now included in East Tennessee, northern Georgia, and western North Carolina were the great Cherokee nation. Near the coasts of southern Virginia and northern North Carolina dwelt the Tuscaroras and the Nottoways. All the other Iroquoian peoples were found together, as it were in a great island of Iroquoian speech, entirely surrounded by Algonquians. The centre of this island was at Niagara in the country of the Neutrals, who extended from western New York along the north shore of Lake Erie. North of the Neutrals the Tionnontates (Tobacco Nation) and the Hurons occupied the country between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron. To the southeast in the Susquehanna valley were the Conestogas, also called Andastes and Susquehannocks. The Eries held the south shore of the lake now called by their name. Finally, through central New York, bounded west by the Eries and Neutrals, south by the Conestogas, and southeast, east, and north by Algonquian tribes, stretched the five nations of the Iroquois.

Thus dwelt the Iroquoians at the opening of the seventeenth century. Seventy years earlier some of their tribes not certainly identified had held both banks of the St. Lawrence from Ontario to the ocean, as well as both shores of Lake Champlain. So much and little more is certain.

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For the origin and early home of the Iroquoians and for their history prior to the seventeenth century we have no records and must depend upon tradition and conjecture. No general agreement has been reached, but the weight of evidence supports the story contained in the following paragraphs.

The valleys drained by the Columbia and the rivers of Puget Sound were the early home of many of the Indian stocks, and from this country the Iroquoians took their way east not less than ten centuries ago. They were then a fish-eating people, nomadic and ignorant of agriculture. Somewhere in the Mississippi valley they acquired this art, and changing their basis of subsistence learned to build permanent villages. Here the Cherokees separated from the main stem, the others continuing together for a long time. This first sedentary home of the Iroquoians has been variously located on the St. Lawrence, on Lake Superior, on Lake Ontario, and in the Tuscarora country above mentioned. It may be said that the northern and southern locations are alike improbable, and that — unless we place them in New York itself — the upper Ohio valley, the region of the Allegany, Monongahela, and Kanawha, is the most likely locality. Here too was perhaps the early home of the Siouan stock (Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East*), whose close connection with the Iroquois Mr. Morgan always maintained. In this home their numbers grew, and the tribes swarmed into their historic sites in Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada.

Now turning more particularly to the five tribes of the League, it appears that the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, in association with the Hurons, moved eastward through the country north of Lakes Erie and Ontario, while the Cayugas and Senecas, with their near kin the Eries,

17 were occupying the southern shores of these lakes.

I. 5 Of the northern division the Onondagas were the first to enter New York, turning southerly at the east end of Lake Ontario. The Mohawks were then becoming a great

EARLY HISTORY

people. They had begun their tribal existence as a Huron phratry upon a fishing expedition, pressing on in advance of their kin to the lower St. Lawrence. Quebec was for some time their chief town. Probably they were the people whom Jacques Cartier found there. Their Huron kindred built Hochelaga on the island of Montreal. Between these related tribes arose jealousy and finally war. The Mohawks drove the Hurons from Hochelaga and built their capital there. This was the height of Mohawk power. Apparently they held the country from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the headwaters of the Mohawk. From their capital at Montreal they controlled the great river down to Gaspé. Vermont and the Adirondacks were their hunting-grounds, and their outlying dependency the Oneidas had for some time had a permanent town in New York. Thus the Onondagas had come in touch with the Oneidas on the east, and with the Cayugas on the west, both of them tribes of their own race, language, and institutions, and both few and feeble compared with Onondaga. It was to the interest of all to maintain peace, and with the Oneidas Onondaga had probably been in alliance before either tribe reached its historic seat. Numerous councils gradually drew the bonds tighter until at length a formal alliance grew up, to which the Senecas, as fathers of the Cayugas, soon became a party. This League of the four nations may have existed as early as 1450 (see note 89).

18 Beginning in a hunter's quarrel, a war broke out in
I. 5 the North in 1550 or a little later. The widely extended Mohawk people was suddenly and violently attacked by the whole line of Algonquian tribes as well as by the Hurons. The fact that the Mohawks were an agricultural people extended far along the St. Lawrence made them as vulnerable as they found the French a century later. If at the same time a succession of crop failures fell upon them, as Lafitau relates of their Quebec settlement, and as happened later on the St. Lawrence, they had good reason to retreat. Some of their towns — perhaps Oneida itself — were nearly de-

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stroyed; others, including several of the St. Lawrence settlements, may have been entirely wiped out, and many of their people slain or incorporated with the Hurons or Algonquians. The remnant of the Mohawks proper fell back upon their Oneida kindred in New York, and were soon received into the League, which now acquired a more formal constitution and more definite obligations. The date of this comple-

I. 8 tion of the League was not far from 1570. There is little doubt that the Mohawks did not enter New York till about that time, nor that the League of Five Nations was formed after all the tribes had entered the State. It should nevertheless be stated that Mr. Morgan and Mr. Horatio Hale, two most eminent authorities, were firm in the belief that the League as it existed in historic times was constituted not later than 1459. The views expressed in the text, however, that the League was established by a single act of conscious legislation were at once combated by Mr. Francis Parkman (*Christian Examiner*, May, 1851), who said: "The divided Iroquois, harassed by the attacks of enemies or threatened with a general inroad, might have been led to see the advantages of a league, and to effect that end the most simple and obvious course would have been that the sachems of all the nations should unite in a common council. When this had been done, when a few functionaries had been appointed and certain necessary regulations established, the league would have found itself, without any very elaborate legislation, in the condition in which it stood at the time of its highest prosperity." To these views Morgan assents in his last word upon the subject (*Houses*, 27).

19 It is, to say the least, improbable that the Iroquois
I. 5 ever lived as one small nation at or near Montreal. The Mohawks held that territory, and the Oneidas and Onondagas may have tarried on the St. Lawrence for a time, but they were there as separate tribes, not as one, and the Senecas and Cayugas probably never dwelt on the river at all. Be this as it may, the Iroquois were not taught agriculture there, nor by the Adirondacks. The Adirondacks did not possess

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this art, but were mere hunters and fishers of the wilderness. Their very name means "tree-eaters," and was given to them by the Iroquois in contempt for their famine diet of buds and bark, to which, having no stores of corn, they were in winter sometimes reduced. (Lafitau, III. 84). Nor was the St.

I. 153 Lawrence valley, where the corn crop often failed, the place where a people would shift from fish to corn as a means of subsistence. Mr. Morgan's own point of view is

I. 191 different on page 191 of Vol. I., where he says that the Iroquois had cultivated corn and other plants from a remote period. While many of the Algonquian tribes and most of the Siouan were non-agricultural, all the Iroquoians tilled the soil. Probably they acquired this art before their separation. The tradition that they learned husbandry from an Algonquian tribe is very likely correct, and the teachers may have been the Illinois or the Powhatans.

It would seem that the northern Iroquoians since reaching the agricultural basis have not lived in a materially milder or colder climate than that of their historic home. All their usages were adapted to a land of warm summers and severe winters. Their corn itself was of a harder and earlier ripening variety than that of their Delaware neighbors. (Loskiel, 84.) Yet even this often failed to ripen on the St. Lawrence (see text, I. 153).

20 When the Iroquois entered New York, they seem to
I. 6 have found an unoccupied land, nor has much evidence been discovered of previous occupation. (Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Occupation of N. Y.*)

21 It is now agreed upon that Jacques Cartier found Iro-
I. 9 quoians at Quebec and even at Gaspé, and most writers think that the people of Hochelaga, the palisaded town which he found on the site of Montreal, were Mohawks, though it is quite possible, as above suggested, that Hochelaga was a Huron town, and that the Quebec people were Mohawks. Ramusio's picture of Hochelaga, showing its houses, its defences, and its cornfields is reproduced on page 32 of

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Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac*, and, whether Mohawk or Huron, is certainly Iroquoian, and may be compared with Champlain's picture of the Onondaga fort attacked by him in 1615, which picture is reproduced by Winsor on page 119 of the same work.

While the Adirondacks did not themselves raise corn, they pointed out to the French, in 1636, the abandoned cornfields of the Mohawks along the St. Lawrence.

22 Champlain's fight was not on Lake George, nor did
I. 10 he reach Lake George. That honor was reserved for Isaac Jogues, first of white men. Champlain progressed as far as the rapids in the Lake George outlet, and the battle was just north of this and close to Ticonderoga. He locates the spot himself: "The place where this battle was fought is 43 degrees some minutes latitude, and I named it Lake Champlain" (*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, III. 9). Morgan was misled by careless reading of Charlevoix.

Not satisfied with irritating the Mohawks, Champlain joined, in 1615, a Huron expedition against the Onondagas, but the attack on their fortified town was repulsed, Champlain himself being wounded. The locality of this battle has also been established. Champlain's itinerary and his sketch of the town have been studied many times, but in 1877 General John S. Clark, by as fine an example of archæological work as has been recorded, demonstrated that the fortified town attacked by Champlain stood on the banks of Nichols Pond, a small and shallow body of water in the town of Fenner. This demonstration is accepted by Morgan (*Houses*, 124) Parkman (*Pioneers*, 403) and Winsor (*Cartier*, 117), and must be regarded as final. Dr. Beauchamp (*Aboriginal Occupation*, 88) says this site was in Oneida territory, not in Onondaga. If he is correct, this would indicate that the Mohawks and Oneidas rather than the Upper Iroquois were still the object of Huron enmity.

23 The debt of the Dutch and English of New York to
I. 12 the Iroquois has been recognized, but the debt of the

FRIENDS TO NEW ENGLAND

English of New England is usually overlooked. Not only did the Mohawks stand between New England and Canada like a wall of fire against French and Indian attacks, but time and again they helped the settlers to overcome their own Indian neighbors. A few quotations may be given : —

“ This Sassacouse (ye Pequents cheefe sachem) being fled (1637) to ye Mowhakes, they cutt of his head, with some other of ye cheefe of them, whether to satisfie ye English . . . or for their owne advantage, I well know not ; but thus this warr tooke end.” (Bradford’s *History of Plimoth Plantation*, 430.)

“ In November and December [1675] Phillip and other Indyans, about a thousand in two party’s armed went up into the country and came within about forty miles of Albany. —

“ The Governor — the River opening unexpected the beginning of February — tooke ye first opportunity to goe up with an additionall force & six sloops to Albany, and found att his arrivall aboutt three hundred Maquaas [Mohawks] Souldiers in towne, returned ye evening afore from ye pursuite of Philip and a party of five hundred with him, whome they had beaten, having some prisoners & the crowns, or hayre and skinne of the head, of others that they had killed.” (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 255.)

“ When you had Wars some time ago with the *Indians*, you desired us to help you ; we did it readily ; and to the Purpose ; for we pursued them closely, by which we prevented the Effusion of much of your Blood. This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and sincerely and from our Hearts.” (Tahajadoris, a Mohawk Sachem, to the Agents of the New England Colonies, September 24, 1689. Colden, I. 108.)

“ In the year 1677, September 19, between Sun-set and dark, the *Indians* came upon us — I yielded myself — and was led away. — Here were the *Indians* quite out of all fear of the *English* ; but in great fear of the *Mohawks*.” (Quintin Stockwell, Story of his Captivity after the attack on Hatfield, Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, I. 501.)

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24 The name of Garangula looks like an Iroquois word,
I. 17 but Parkman amusingly explains its origin: "He was a famous Onondaga orator named Otreouati, and called also Big Mouth, whether by reason of the dimensions of that feature or the greatness of the wisdom that issued from it. [Perhaps he was the sachem Ho-sa-ha-ho.] His contemporary, Baron La Hontan, thinking perhaps that his French name of La Grande Gueule was wanting in dignity, Latinized it into Grangula; and the Scotchman, Colden, afterwards improved it into Garangula, under which high-sounding appellation Big Mouth has descended to posterity. He was an astute old savage, well trained in the arts of the Iroquois rhetoric, and gifted with the power of strong and caustic sarcasm, which has marked more than one of the chief orators of the Confederacy." (*Frontenac*, 95.)

25 Frontenac had 1,700 French and 500 Indians when
I. 20 he marched against the Onondagas (Lamberville, Affairs of Canada in 1696, 65 *J. R.*, 24). Their town of Onondaga had stood for fourteen years when Frontenac found it (Letter of Lamberville, 62 *J. R.*, 54), and as it was full time to remove to another site, it was not worth defending. The Onondagas therefore burnt the town themselves (*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, I. 332) and the French found only the smoking ruins. All that the Onondagas really lost was their standing crops, and these would have been sacrificed if the town had been defended. For its location see Dr. Beauchamp's note, 51 *J. R.*, 294.

26 After the year 1700 the four western tribes took
I. 20 little part in the wars between France and England, the Senecas in fact inclining at times to the French side. The Mohawks alone continued active in the English alliance, and were engaged in most of the fighting on the New York border, particularly in the battle of Lake George, September, 1755, where their chief, "King Hendrick," was among the killed. Also at Niagara in July, 1759, Sir William Johnson had Iroquois aid.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

27 In Pontiac's war strong efforts were made to induce
II. 85 the Iroquois to join the alliance of Indian against
Englishman, and "had not the Six Nations been kept tranquil
by the exertions of Sir William Johnson, the most disastrous
results must have ensued. The Senecas and a few of the
Cayugas were the only members of the Confederacy who
took part in the War." (Parkman, *Pontiac*, II. 29.)

28 When the American Revolution began, the League
I. 26, was at first ready to remain neutral, and, in fact,
108 neutrality was urged upon the Iroquois by Sir John
Johnson the Tory, as well as by Philip Schuyler on the part
of the patriots. The responsibility for the introduction of
the tomahawk and the scalping-knife into the conflict rests
directly upon the British ministry. When the Iroquois were
forced from their neutral position, the King's cause was the
natural one. The alliances, nearly two centuries old, had
been made in his name, and in his name the presents had
been given and redress for wrongs administered. The injuries
which had come to the Indians, on the other hand, were never
done in the royal name, but were the work of individuals,
most of whom took the American side. Finally, the British
had the great influence of the family and official successors
of Sir William Johnson. Three men, Skenandoah, Thomas
Spencer, and Samuel Kirkland the missionary, held the
Oneidas in the American interest; otherwise the united war-
riors of the League would have fallen upon the Americans.

At Onondaga in January, 1777, the ancient council-fire of
the Six Nations was extinguished, seemingly not without
bloodshed. The Senecas and Cayugas openly and unitedly
espoused the cause of the King; the Mohawks and Onondagas
were divided, some for the King, some neutral. The Oneidas
and Tuscaroras endeavored to remain neutral, but many of
them were soon actively engaged on the American side.
These allies gave much aid to the patriots in the border wars
of the Revolution and suffered greatly in consequence. Their
faithful friendship and assistance were formally and gratefully

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recognized by the United States by Treaty proclaimed January 21, 1795. If the League had been unanimous under its ancient laws in making war upon the Americans, it is quite likely that Burgoyne's campaign would have been a British triumph and that the war would have ended in the triumph of the royal arms.

I. 27 On the other hand, if the League had espoused the American cause or had remained neutral, it would have been both difficult and unjust to take from them an inch of their territory at the end of the war, and the settlement of the West, the opening of the Erie Canal, and all the development of the Empire State and its chief city would have been long postponed, even if commerce and empire had not been diverted into other channels. Any attempt at the settlement of the country while still under Indian rule would have produced an unendurable state of affairs, much worse than any Transvaal problem.

29 Being abandoned by the British government, the I. 172 Iroquois had at the end of the Revolution no defence except the generosity and prudence of the American people. Fortunately the just and sagacious counsel of Washington prevailed : —

“My ideas, therefore, of the line of conduct proper to be observed, not only towards the Indians but for the government of the citizens of America, in their settlement of the western country, which is intimately connected therewith, are simply these.

“First, and as a preliminary, that all prisoners, of whatever age or sex, among the Indians, shall be delivered up.

“That the Indians should be informed that, after a contest of eight years for the sovereignty of this country, Great Britain has ceded all the lands to the United States within the limits described by the article of the provisional treaty.

“That as they (the Indians) maugre all the advice and admonition that could be given them at the commencement and during the prosecution of the war, could not be restrained

WASHINGTON'S POLICY

from acts of hostility, but were determined to join their arms to those of Great Britain and to share their fortunes, so consequently, with a less generous people than Americans, they would be made to share the same fate, and be compelled to retire along with them beyond the Lakes. But, as we prefer peace to a state of warfare; as we consider them as a deluded people; as we persuade ourselves that they are convinced, from experience, of their error in taking up the hatchet against us, and that their true interest and safety must now depend upon *our* friendship; as the country is large enough to contain us all; and as we are disposed to be kind to them and to partake of their trade, we will, from these considerations and from motives of compassion, draw a veil over what is past, and establish a boundary line between them and us, beyond which we will endeavor to restrain our people from hunting or settling, and within which they shall not come but for the purposes of trading, treating, or other business unexceptionable in its nature.

“In establishing this line, in the first instance, care should be taken neither to yield nor to grasp at too much; but to endeavor to impress the Indians with an idea of the generosity of our disposition to accommodate them, and of the necessity we are under, of providing for our warriors, our young people who are growing up, and strangers who are coming from other countries to live among us; and if they should make a point of it, or appear dissatisfied with the line we may find it necessary to establish, compensation should be made to them for their claims within it.

“It is needless for me to express more explicitly, because the tendency of my observations evinces it is my opinion, that, if the legislature of the State of New York should insist upon expelling the Six Nations from all the country they inhabited previous to the war, within their territory, as General Schuyler seems to be apprehensive, it will end in another Indian war. I have every reason to believe from my inquiries, and the information I have received, that they will not suffer their

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country (if it were our policy to take it before we could settle it) to be wrested from them without another struggle. That they would compromise for a part of it, I have very little doubt; and that it would be the cheapest way of coming at it, I have no doubt at all. The same observations, I am persuaded, will hold good with respect to Virginia, or any other State, which has powerful tribes of Indians on its frontiers; and the reason of my mentioning New York is because General Schuyler has expressed his opinion of the temper of its legislature, and because I have been more in the way of learning the sentiments of the Six Nations on the subject, than of any other tribes of Indians.

“The limits being sufficiently extensive, in the new country, to comply with all the engagements of government, and to admit such emigrations as may be supposed to happen within a given time, not only from the several States of the Union but from foreign countries, and, moreover, of such magnitude as to form a distinct and proper government; a proclamation, in my opinion, should issue, making it felony (if there is power for the purpose, if not, imposing some very heavy restraint) for any person to survey or settle beyond the line; and the officers commanding the frontier garrisons should have pointed and peremptory orders to see that the proclamation is carried into effect.

“Measures of this sort would not only obtain peace from the Indians, but would, in my opinion, be the surest means of preserving it; and would dispose of the land to the best advantage, people the country progressively and check land jobbing and monopolizing, which are now going forward with great avidity, while the door would be open and the terms known for every one to obtain what is proper and reasonable for himself, upon legal and constitutional ground.

“Every advantage, that could be expected or even wished for, would result from such a mode of procedure. Our settlements would be compact, government well established and our barrier formidable, not only for ourselves but against

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our neighbors; and the Indians, as has been observed in General Schuyler's letter, will ever retreat as our settlements advance upon them, and they will be as ready to sell as we are to buy. That it is the cheapest, as well as the least distressing way of dealing with them, none, who is acquainted with the nature of Indian warfare, and has ever been at the trouble of estimating the expense of one, and comparing it with the cost of purchasing their lands, will hesitate to acknowledge." (Washington to Duane, 7 September, 1783.)

In pursuit of this enlightened policy a treaty was made at Fort Stanwix October 22, 1784, by which the United States gave peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas (the Oneidas and Tuscaroras not having made war), and the Six Nations yielded all their lands west of New York State. Their lands within the State were yielded by successive treaties until at Big Tree (now Genesee), September 15, 1797, nearly all western New York passed to white control.

There were no further hostilities between the United States and the Iroquois within its borders. On the contrary, the Senecas in 1812 fought under the American flag against the British soldiers and even against the Canada Mohawks allied with the British. Again in the Civil War the New York Iroquois furnished their full quota and more to the Union Army.

³⁰ The case of the Senecas against the Ogden Land
II. ¹²¹ Company, in which Morgan took so warm an interest,
I. ³¹ rests on a complicated series of facts. Under the
grant from James I. to Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts
claimed a large part of western New York. This claim
was adjusted between the two States at Hartford, Connecticut,
December 16, 1786. By this compact Massachusetts ceded
to New York the right of "government, sovereignty, and juris-
diction" over the whole territory in dispute, and New York
ceded to Massachusetts "the right of pre-emption of the soil
of the native Indians" and all other estate, except of sov-
ereignty and jurisdiction, in a tract of about six million acres,

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which included all of the State of New York lying west of Seneca Lake, and is now divided into fourteen counties. The rights of Massachusetts to a large part of these lands were subsequently acquired by the Ogden Land Company, an unincorporated association, which secured by somewhat questionable means grants in the form of treaties from the Senecas in 1826 and 1838, that of the last-named year purporting to give up all the lands of the Senecas in New York. This treaty was not assented to by the Seneca chiefs in council, although a number of them signed as individuals. As to these signatures President Van Buren said, in a message to the Senate, "That improper means have been employed to obtain the assent of the Seneca chiefs, there is every reason to believe," yet the Senate ratified the treaty. The Indians and their friends still endeavored to have it set aside, and finally a compromise was reached by which the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations were restored, still subject to the pre-emption right, but the Tonawanda band of Senecas were left homeless.

I. 106 Morgan wrote at the time: "The Senate of the United States, by a resolution passed June 11, 1838, committed a great act of injustice upon the Seneca Indians, unintentionally, no doubt; and prepared the way for their total extirpation. This resolution abrogated their unanimity principle, by authorizing a majority of their chiefs to make a treaty with the Ogden Land Company, for the sale of their lands in western New York. In December of that year this vigilant company forced a treaty upon the Senecas, under very questionable circumstances. It was well known that fifteen-sixteenths of the people, almost the entire nation, were unwilling to sell; yet the company, having a resolution of the Senate under which to shelter themselves, procured by their own efforts, now resorted to the quick and only expedient of purchasing the votes of a majority of the chiefs. The proceedings by which this end was finally accomplished were utterly objectionable, as is abundantly proved by printed docu-

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ments, now before the Senate. There were eighty-one chiefs, placing the three classes of chiefs upon a level; and but forty-one needed to the treaty. It is represented that \$200,000 were set apart as the *means of negotiation*; that to ten chiefs they paid \$30,000 in bribes; that others were plied with rum until intoxicated, and then made to sign; that still others were made chiefs by a sham election, and their signatures then taken; while yet others signed the treaty as chiefs who were not so in fact. Several days were consumed in perfecting the work, and the desired majority was obtained. After a long and angry controversy, in which the red-men struggled in vain for justice, the Senate finally ratified it by the casting vote of the Vice-President. The Indians refused to own the treaty, and the government were unwilling to execute it. A compromise, in 1842, was effected, by which two reservations were released from the operation of the treaty, on conditions that the Indians would sacrifice the other two. The Tonawanda and Buffalo reserves were thus sold a second time. The Tonawanda Band, never having signed either treaty, still refused to deliver possession; and it is a question yet to be decided, whether the Tonawanda Senecas shall be deprived of their homes, without their consent, or without an equivalent paid. The land is worth on an average \$16 per acre, and the treaty allows them \$1.67." (Skenandoah, *Letters on the Iroquois*, p. 247, note.) The citizens of western New York espoused the cause of the Indians, and at a general convention of the people of Genesee County held at Batavia, March 21, 1846, Lewis H. Morgan was deputed to carry to Washington the memorial which the convention had adopted. By his influence and that of his associates a settlement was finally arrived at by which the Tonawandas bought back 7,547 acres, being their present reservation. The pre-emption claim of the Ogden Land Company to the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations still exists. A legislative committee recommended in 1889 that this pre-emption right be extinguished. Its extinction would seem to be necessary before the lands can be

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allotted to the Indians in several ownership. For the history of the claim see the opinion of the Court of Appeals in *Seneca Nation vs. Christie*, 126 *N. Y.* 122, *Indian Problem*, and *The Claim of the Ogden Land Company*, a pamphlet prepared some years ago by Mr. W. H. Samson, of Rochester, at the request of the Senecas, for use in Congress to defeat a project to compel the Indians to buy the Company's claim.

31 For the life and achievements of William Johnson
II. 85 see Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier*, and *Life of Sir William Johnson* by Stone.

32 It is stated that Johnson, the religious teacher, died
I. 221 in 1850.

33 Governor Blacksnake died September 9, 1859, at the
I. 70 reported age of 117 years.

34 It is still true that there is no connected history de-
I. 4 voted entirely to the League, but its history down to the Revolution is to be found in the pages of Parkman, while Stone's *Lives of Johnson and Brant* bring down the detailed narrative to the fall of the League as a political and military power. Halsey's *The Old New York Frontier* gives, of course in briefer form, the whole story of the rise, progress, and decline of the Iroquois state.

35 While neither the Dutch of New Netherland nor the
I. 22 English of New York showed the glowing zeal for the conversion of the Indians that animated the breasts of Eliot in New England and the Jesuits in New France, the Iroquois were by no means "entirely neglected." The names of Megapolensis the Albany Dominie, Kirkland the Missionary to the Oneidas, and Zeisberger the Moravian are perhaps the most conspicuous, but many others might be named.

36 Squier's *Antiquities of New York and the West* was
II. 5, 12 published in 1851, the same year as the *League*. At one time Squier had supposed the western New York remains to be the work of the so-called Mound-Builders, but in this work (p. 140) he expressed a different opinion: "In full view of the facts before presented, I am driven to a con-

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clusion little anticipated when I started upon my exploration of the monuments of the State, that the earthworks of Western New York were erected by the Iroquois or their western neighbors, and do not possess an antiquity going very far back of the discovery."

Beauchamp's *Aboriginal Occupation* expresses the same views, which are generally accepted. No distinction of race between the so-called Mound-Builders and the other aboriginal Americans is now recognized.

37 Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), a Canajoharie Mo-
I. 70, hawk chief, of the Wolf clan, was born in what is
98 now Ohio in 1742, and died in Canada in 1807. His
life was one of incessant and varied activity. From his youth he was a protégé of Sir William Johnson, who secured him an English education. His sister, the celebrated Molly Brant, was Johnson's housekeeper and bore him several children. At the opening of the Revolution Brant had become a power among the Mohawks, and with the Johnsons took the King's side. In the border warfare that followed he was the most prominent figure. The poet Campbell in *Gertrude of Wyoming* says that Brant was the moving spirit in the Wyoming massacre and also that he was a monster. But both these statements are now believed to be inaccurate. Brant was at Cherry Valley, but on that day, as throughout the war, he showed himself an honorable warrior, not a murderer. Happy the captive settler or settler's wife who fell into the hands of Brant and his Mohawks. More cruel were the Senecas, and the Tories were "more savage than the savages themselves." After the war Brant secured for his ruined people a home in Canada, and was active in all the negotiations of the British and American governments with the Indian tribes. Twice in his life he visited England, where he was at home in the best society of the time. Brant translated the Prayer-book and portions of the Scriptures into the Mohawk tongue. W. L. Stone's *Life of Brant* is an important work.

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38 "It is worthy of remembrance that the Iroquois
I. 58 commended to our forefathers a union of the colonies similar to their own as early as 1755. They saw in the common interests and common speech of the several colonies the elements for a confederation, which was as far as their vision was able to penetrate." (*Houses*, p. 32.)

On the other hand Franklin's plan of union, which was the beginning of our own federal republic, was directly inspired by the wisdom, durability, and inherent strength which he had observed in the Iroquois constitution. Under the Articles of Confederation we managed our affairs for a dozen years very much on the Iroquois plan, and it must be confessed were not quite as apt in execution and in administrative wisdom as our barbarian predecessors.

When the colonies became the United States, the Iroquois recognized the similarity of the League to their own, and gave to the new nation the name of The Thirteen Fires.

39 Morgan modified this in *Houses*, p. 34, to "they
I. 78 never fell into anarchy nor ruptured the organization." There was at times much dissension and jealousy between the tribes, and more than once actual hostilities were narrowly averted.

40 "The career of the Iroquois was simply terrific.

II. 107 "Taking the part of the English in the wars against the French, they shook all Canada with the fear of their arms.

"They were the scourge of God upon the aborigines of the continent, and were themselves used up stock, lash and snapper, in the tremendous flagellation which was administered through them to almost every branch, in turn, of the great Algonquin family. It will not do to say that but for the Iroquois the settlement of the country by the whites would not have taken place; yet assuredly the settlement would have been longer delayed and have been finally accomplished with far greater expense of blood and treasure, had not the Six Nations, not knowing what they did, gone before in savage blindness and fury destroying or driving out tribe

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after tribe which with them might for more than a generation at least have stayed the western course of European invasion." (Francis A. Walker, *North Amer. Rev.*, April, 1873.)

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41 THAT magnificent tract known as the Adirondack

I. 44 Wilderness yet remains in practically the same condition as when the Iroquois trod its sombre depths. Here are still found the trails which the Iroquois used. The engineer who ran them may well have been the red man, but in many cases the deer and the bear trod them before even he. These pathways, hammered deep into the soil by many centuries of hurrying feet passing in what we still call Indian file, to-day thread the eternal forest marked only by the beaten track and the fading blazes on the tree-trunks.

As an alternative to this blazing with the hatchet, the II. 94 Indian in many places marked the road by twigs broken by the traveller's hand. This could be done without falling out of step.

II. 80, Morgan's appellation of "well-beaten footpath" was

94 merited at least by the main trail which ran by town and town from the Hudson to Lake Erie, for the Jesuit writers more than two centuries ago called it "The Beaten Road," and over these roads the Indian travellers made regularly thirty or forty miles a day. The domestic peace which prevailed through the Iroquois territories made them a region of travel on the highways. (See *Judges*, V. 6.) Both in peace

I. 116 and war the Iroquois were a travelling people, and whether trading, hunting, fishing, or going on hostile expeditions, or simply as travellers for pleasure or visitors to their kindred, they were constantly in motion on the roads which traversed the territories of the Five Confederate Tribes. They have the same characteristic to-day. Of all these journeyings

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Onondaga, the centre and capital of the Confederacy, was naturally the most visited point. Says a Jesuit Father in 1656: "Our situation in the centre of these nations is most advantageous for the conversion of the savages, not only because the missions can easily be sent thence into the neighboring provinces, but also because of the great concourse of travellers who keep the place full of people all the time." (Relation of 1656-57, 44 *J. R.*, 46.)

Not every trail was open to all the world. It required, as it requires to-day, experience to follow the windings and forkings of a forest path, and for purposes of war and trade many routes were intentionally concealed. Of all the Indian peoples the Iroquois were among the earliest to recognize the importance of good roads; and from treaty speeches it would appear that the trails were at times cleared and repaired, the swamps corduroyed and the streams bridged, or at least that the idea of such improvements was not inconceivable by their minds.

The following notes on the *Peculiarities of Footpaths* are not irrelevant. The work cited is Drummond's *Tropical Africa*.

"Footpaths are what roads are not, natural productions, just as the paths made by hares, deer, and elephants are. No one really makes a footpath; that is, no one improves it. What is true of Central Africa is true of England. 'The native paths,' wrote Prof. Drummond, 'are the same in character all over Africa,' (he has previously mentioned that you are almost never 'off' one of these paths.) 'They are veritable footpaths, trodden as hard as adamant, and rutted beneath the level of the forest by centuries of native traffic. As a rule, these footpaths are marvellously direct. Like the roads of the old Romans, they run straight on through everything, — ridge and mountain and valley, — never shying at obstacles nor anywhere turning aside to breathe. Yet within this general straightforwardness there is a singular eccentricity and indirectness in detail. Although the African footpath is, on the whole, a bee line, no fifty yards of it are ever straight.

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And the reason is not far to seek. If a stone is encountered no native will ever think of removing it. Why should he? It is easier to walk round it. The next man who comes by will do the same. He knows that a hundred men are following him; he looks at the stone; a moment, and it might be unearthed and tossed aside; but no, he holds on his way. It would no more occur to him that that stone is a displaceable object than that felspar belongs to the orthoclase variety. Generations and generations of men have passed that stone, and it still waits for a man with an altruistic idea.' This is, perhaps, the *locus classicus* on the true inwardness of foot-paths." (*The [London] Spectator*, August 3, 1901.)

42 The map used by Mr. Morgan as a basis for his de-
II. 106 lineation of the Iroquois trails contains, unfortunately, many geographical errors. Thus Lake George is shown as emptying into the Hudson, and the upper Sacandaga, being connected with the Cayadutta, becomes a tributary of the Mohawk. In fact, the whole Adirondack region is almost unrecognizable.

Some of the trails shown are probably of more recent
II. 84 date than that given of 1720. Thus the trail diverging to Johnstown, shown on Mr. Morgan's map and mentioned in the text, was hardly more ancient than Sir William Johnson's residence there (1742).

Dr. Beauchamp says in a letter to the editor: "I do not think it possible accurately to lay down the trails, for every fresh removal and settlement made a difference. Morgan omitted many, and wisely put down those of which he was certain; but the Moravian Journals make it evident that some of these were not those of one hundred and fifty years ago. His map and description, however, should appear as he left them."

In another letter Dr. Beauchamp says: "In 1650 and earlier, as well as later, the trail left the Mohawk near Canajoharie, and struck over the hills to the vicinity of Munnsville, Madison County, and thence to the town of Pompey.

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In 1750 the trail from Onondaga to Cayuga touched the foot of Skeneateles and Owasco lakes. It was usual to cross Cayuga Lake south of Union Springs, but Morgan had no means of knowing all this."

Römer's map, dated 1700, shows the first Mohawk Castle on the north bank of the river, but the trail on the south bank is the only one shown. West of the third Castle this trail turns to the southwest, and crosses the Susquehanna some twenty miles south of the Mohawk, and then passing just north of Otsego Lake, goes straight west to Oneida. From Oneida (Utica) another trail is shown leading north to the site of Rome, while the main trail goes forty miles west to Onondaga. From Onondaga there is a trail fifteen miles west and north to Cananda (perhaps Onondaga) Lake, and one twenty miles northeast to Sachnawarage.

There is presented herewith, by permission of the State Museum, a copy of the map prepared by Dr. Beauchamp for the Museum Bulletin No. 32, on the Aboriginal Occupation of New York. On pages 14 and 15 of this Bulletin Dr. Beauchamp quotes the text, and says: "Those familiar with Mr. L. H. Morgan's map of Ho-de-no-sau-nee-ga, or the territory of the people of the Long House after their conquests, will observe that the boundaries on the small map showing national distribution differ somewhat from his, partly from showing an earlier condition, but for other reasons as well."

I. 38 "Mr. Morgan, however, forgot that irregular ridges instead of streams, sometimes become boundaries, though straight lines might be carried along or over these. Another matter was overlooked, that national boundaries changed from time to time by mutual agreement. Aside from conquest there can be no doubt of this. In 1654 and later, the foot of Oneida Lake was certainly in the territory of the Onondagas, their village there being well known for fifty years. Yet at a later day the Oneidas not only held the lake, but reserved a fishing place on its outlet, three miles below.

ROADS TO CANADA

Deep Spring was certainly on the line between the Oneidas and Onondagas after the Revolution, but it is almost as evident that the Onondagas at one time owned Cazenovia Lake and its outlet. Mr. Morgan himself divided Cross Lake by the eastern line of the Cayugas, while the Onondagas had clearings west of it. He also placed Sodus Bay, well known as the Bay of the Cayugas, in the Seneca territory. The Cayugas themselves at one time had villages north of Lake Ontario, and on the Susquehanna at a later day."

II. 93 The western Iroquois went to Canada usually by Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. The Mohawks and Oneidas kept further east, and appear to have had at least five roads to Montreal. The favorite one, because it involved only two or three days' land travel, was by way of Lake George (which was reached by various routes; sometimes via the Sacandaga, sometimes via Schenectady and the Hudson) and Lake Champlain; but when the season was stormy or they wished to avoid observation, they took a route west of the Adirondacks, which after eight or ten days of tramping brought them to the Oswegatchie and so to the St. Lawrence. Another road to the St. Lawrence was by the Fulton chain of lakes, Racquette and Long Lakes and the Racquette River.

Having reached the Racquette, they could either continue down the river to the St. Lawrence or pass to the Saranacs and Lake Champlain by what is still called the Indian carry. There is evidence of another route to Long Lake and the country beyond via Lake Pleasant, Whittaker Lake, and the Indian Lake, but whether Lake Pleasant was usually reached from the south or from the west does not appear.

43 (Ska-hase-ga-o.) "This word is rendered *Place of a*
I. 306 *long creek now dry*. Anciently there was a large and
II. 92 populous Seneca village in this vicinity, situated on the Honeoye creek, a short distance west from Mendon, on a bend in the stream. It is well remembered among the Senecas under the name of Ga-o-sai-ga-o, which is translated *In a bass-wood country*.

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"In 1792 vestiges of at least seventy houses, or Ga-no-so-do, were to be seen at the place designated. Although it had been deserted for a long period, rows of corn hills still indicated the places which had been subjected to cultivation. There was an opening of about two thousand acres upon the creek, in the midst of which the village was situated. Extensive burial grounds in the vicinity, from which gun barrels, tomahawks, beads, crosses, and other articles have been disinterred, tend to show a modern occupation, while the sitting posture in which some of the skeletons are found indicates a very ancient occupation." (Skenandoah, p. 488.)

44 Table exhibiting the principal points on the trail of
I. 45 the Iroquois from Albany to Niagara which were
II. 93 known to the immigrants who flocked into western
New York between 1790 and 1800. At most of these
places taverns were erected, which, it will be observed, were
chiefly upon the ancient trail, then the only road opened
through the forest. The distances from point to point are
also given.

	Miles		Miles
Albany		Foster's	5
McKown's Tavern	5	Morehouse's	6
Imax's	7	Keeler's or Danforth's	5
Schenectady	4	Carpenter's	15
Groat's	12	Buck's	3
John Fonda's	12	Goodrich's	8
Conally's	7	Huggins'	4
Roseboom's Ferry (Canajo-		Cayuga Bridge	7
harie)	3	Seneca	3
Hudson's (Indian Castle)	13	Geneva	11
Aldridge's (Germ. Flats)	11	Amsden's	6
Brayton's	13	Wells'	8
Utica (Fort Schuyler)	3	Sandburn's (Canandaigua)	4
Whitestown	4	Sear's and Peck's	13
Laird's Tavern	9	Genesee River	14
Oneida Castle	8	Tonawanda (Ind. village)	40
Wemp's	5	Niagara	35
John Denna's	7	Total Distance	310

(Skenandoah, p. 489.)

SACHEMSHIPS

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

45 THE following spellings and significations are communicated by Mrs. Harriet Maxwell Converse on the authority of her father, Thomas Maxwell, who was the son of Guy Maxwell, the adopted brother of Red Jacket, and of General Parker.

II. 129, *Ga-weh-no-geh*. Cawenisque. At the Big Island.

132, *Ne-ah-ga*. Pronounced by Red Jacket O-ne-au-ga-ra.

133 *Skwe-do-wa*. Ski-an-do-wa. The Great (Corn) fields.

Ga-nun-da-gwa. Canandaqua. Chosen town. *Ga-nun-da-a-ga*. At the new town.

Ga-ha-to. The Delaware name of the Chemung was Kanungwa, Horn in the water.

II. 134, *Ga-wa-no-wa-na-neh*. Susquesaha'na. Crooked river.

136 *Che-gwa-ga*. The stream or waterfall at Havana, Chemung County, was called She-gwaw-ga, Trembling waters.

II. 138, *Ot-se-go*. Clear water.

139 *Do-tea-ga*. Breaking.

De-o-na-sa-de-o. Heaping sand.

SACHEMSHIPS

46 IN the following list the Seneca names with their I. 59 meanings are Morgan's, corrected by himself, the clans being supplied from other sources in cases where Morgan did not state them. The Mohawk names and significations are Hale's, as emended by E. S. Parker. In the column of remarks are given variant statements by Chadwick, Hale, and Parker.

I. 60 The following table shows distribution of the sachemships by tribes and clans, Morgan's account being accepted:—

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	Mohawk	Oneida	Onondaga	Cayuga	Seneca	Total
Bear	3	3	3	2	1	12
Wolf	3	3	1	1	1	9
Turtle	3	3	5	2	2	15
Beaver	0	0	1	0	0	1
Deer	0	0	3	1	0	4
Snipe	0	0	1	2	3	6
Heron	0	0	0	2	0	2
Hawk	0	0	0	0	1	1
Eel	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ball	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	9	9	14	10	8	50

Assuming the Seneca division of phratries as original, the Sachems are divided, 37 to the First Phratry, and only 13 to the Second; but as the Mohawks and Oneidas had no representatives of the Second Phratry only the three Western tribes should be compared, giving 19 to the First and 13 to the Second.

MOHAWK SACHEMS

	SENECA NAMES	MOHAWK NAMES	REMARKS
1. TURTLE	Da-ga-e-o-ga (Neutral)	Tehkarihoken (Between two state- ments)	(Double speech) C.
2. TURTLE	Ha-yo-went-ha (Man who combs)	Hayenwatha (Seeks the wampum)	
3. TURTLE	Da-ga-no-we-da (Inexhaustible)	Shadekarihwade (Two things equal)	
4. WOLF	So-a-e-wa-ah (Small speech)	Sharenhhowane (Great tree top)	(Loftiest tree) C.
5. WOLF	Da-yo-ho-go (At the forks)	Tehyonheghkwen (Double life)	(i. e. Tenacious of life.)
6. WOLF	O-a-a-go-wa (At the great river)	Owenheghkohna (Wide branches)	(High hill) C.
7. BEAR	Da-an-no-ga-e-neh (Dragging his horns)	Tehhennaghkarihne (Going with two horns)	
8. BEAR	Sa-da-ga-e-wa-deh (Even-tempered)	Shaghskoharowane (Great wood drift)	All but Morgan make this the 9th sachemship.
9. BEAR	Has-da-weh-se-ont-ha (Hanging up rattles)	Aghstawenserontha (Puts on the rattles)	All but Morgan make this the 8th sachemship. (Holding the rat- tles) C.

LIST OF SACHEMS

ONEIDA SACHEMS

10. WOLF	Ho-das-ha-teh (Bearing a burden)	Odatseghdeh (Bearing a quiver)	
11. WOLF	Ga-no-gweh-yo-do (Covered with cat-tail down)	Kahnnonkwenyah (Setting up ears of corn in a row)	See II. 30.
12. WOLF	Da-yo-ha-gwen-da (Opening through the woods)	Tehyohhakwendeh (Open voice)	
13. TURTLE	So-no-sase (A long string)	Shononghseseh (His long house)	
14. TURTLE	To-no-a-ga-o (Man with a head- ache)	Thonaeghkenah (Two branches)	
15. TURTLE	Ha-de-a-dun-nent-ha (Swallowing himself)	Hahtyadonnentha (He slides himself down)	
16. BEAR	Da-wa-da-o-da-yo (Place of the echo)	Tehwahtahontenyonk (Two hanging ears)	
17. BEAR	Ga-ne-a-dus-ha-yeh (War club on the ground)	Kahnyadaghshayen (Easy throat)	
18. BEAR	Ho-wus-ha-da-o (Steaming himself)	Honwatshadonneh (He is buried)	TURTLE C.

ONONDAGA SACHEMS

19. BEAR	To-do-da-ho (Tangled)	Wathadotarho (Entangled)	DEER C.
20. BEAVER	To-nes-sa-ah	Onchseaghghen (Best soil uppermost)	
21. BEAR	Da-at-ga-dose (On the watch)	Tehhatkahdons (On the watch)	BEAVER C. & H (Two-sighted, i. e. vigilant) C.
22. SNIPE	Ga-ne-a-da-je-wake (Bitter body)	Skaniadajiwak (Bitter throat)	
23. TURTLE	Ah-wa-ga-yat	Aweakenyat (The end of its journey)	BALL C.
24. TURTLE	Da-a-yat-gwa-e	Tehayatkwayen (On his body)	(Red wings) C.
25. WOLF	Ho-no-we-na-to	Hononwirehdonh (He sunk out of sight)	
26. DEER	Ga-wa-na-san-do	Kawenenseaghtonh (Voice suspended)	
27. DEER	Ha-e-ho	Hahhiahonh (Scattered)	(Spilled) C.

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28. TURTLE	Ho-yo-ne-a-ne	Hohyunhnyennih	EEL H. HAWK C.
29. BEAR	Sa-da-kwa-seh	Shotehgwaseh (He is bruised)	EEL C. & H.
30. DEER	Sa-go-ga-ha (Having a glimpse)	Shahkohkenneth (He saw them, now others)	TURTLE C., EEL H.
31. TURTLE	Ho-sa-ha-ho (Large mouth)	Sahhahih (Wearing a hatchet in his belt)	
32. TURTLE	Ska-no-wun-de (Over the creek)	Skahnahwahatih (Over the creek)	

CAYUGA SACHEMS

33. DEER	Da-ga-a-yo (Man frightened)	Tahkahenhyunh (Looks both ways)	BEAR C.
34. HERON	Da-je-no-da-weh-o	Jihnontahwehhen (Coming on its knees)	DEER H., BALL C.
35. BEAR	Ga-da-gwa-sa	Kahtahgwahjih (It was bruised)	
36. BEAR	So-yo-wase	Shonyunhwesh (Has a long wampum belt)	
37. TURTLE	Ha-de-as-yo-no	Hahtyahrenhneh (He puts one on another)	
38. WOLF	Da-yo-o-yo-go	Tehyuhenyunhkoh (It touches the sky)	
39. TURTLE	Jote-ho-weh-ko (Very cold)	Tehyuhtohwehgwi (Doubly cold)	WOLF C. & H.
40. HERON	De-a-wate-ho	Tyawenhhehthonh (Mossy place)	WOLF H., SNIPE C.
41. SNIPE	To-da-e-ho	Hahtonhtahhehhah (Crowding himself in)	
42. SNIPE	Des-ga-heh	Teshkahhea (Resting on it)	BEAR C.

SENECA SACHEMS

43. TURTLE	Ga-ne-o-di-yo (Handsome lake)	Skahnyahteihyuh (Beautiful lake)	WOLF H.
44. SNIPE	Sa-da-ga-o-yase (Level heavens)	Shahtekahenhhyesh (Skies of equal length)	
45. TURTLE	Gan-no-gi-e	Kahnokhaih (Threatened)	47th Sachem H. & C.
46. HAWK	Sa-gch-jo-wa (Great forehead)	Shakenjohnah (Large forehead)	

ASSISTANT SACHEMS

47. BEAR	Sa-de-a-no-wus (Assistant)	Sahtyehnahwaht (Withheld)	45th Sachem H. & C. SNIPE C.
48. SNIPE	Nis-ha-ne-a-nent (Falling day)	Nishahyehnenhah (The day fell down)	BEAR H.
49. SNIPE	Ga-no-go-e-da-we (Hair burned off)	Kanohkehihtawih (One who burns the hair)	BEAR H.
50. WOLF	Do-ne-ho-ga-weh (Open door)	Tyuhniiuhohkawenh (Open door)	

47 Actually there were but forty-eight sachems, as Hayo-
I. 59 wentha and Daganoweda had no successors. As a
mark of respect their places remained vacant. (But see
Hale, p. 31.) The division of the sachems of each tribe into
classes probably represents the original division of the tribe
into villages.

48 "Each sachem had an assistant sachem, who was
elected by the gens (clan) of his principal from among
its members, and who was installed with the same forms and
ceremonies. He was styled an 'aid.' It was his duty to
stand behind his superior on all occasions of ceremony, to act
as his messenger, and in general to be subject to his directions.
It gave to the aid the office of chief, and rendered probable
his election as the successor of his principal after the decease
of the latter. In their figurative language these aids of the
sachems were styled 'Braces in the Long House,' which
symbolized the confederacy." (*Houses*, 31.)

I. 70 The war-chiefs Tawannears and Sonosowa were as-
sistant sachems.

49 Other officials, for example the Keepers of the Faith,
I. 80 took and held office in the same way as the Sachems.

Each clan had certain offices to which permanent names
were attached and to which the clan had the power of
nomination. The nominee must however be confirmed
and raised up by the tribe. The officer was known by
his official name as long as he held office, but when he re-
signed or was deposed he, of course, lost the name as well
as the office.

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And in general each clan had a series of names denoting rank and duty, which it bestowed upon its members as vacancies occurred. While hereditary only in a general sense, they passed down much like titles of nobility, the holder for the time being known only by the name to which he was thus appointed, while his former name might be bestowed upon some other. A difference between the elective name of an Iroquois and the hereditary name of an English duke is, however, to be noted. The name did not descend *ipso facto* by death, but died with its holder and must be expressly raised up. (In the same way the eldest son of the King of England is Duke of Cornwall by right of birth, but not Prince of Wales until especially appointed.) It was moreover considered indecent to do this until a considerable period had elapsed after the death. The names owned by a clan usually indicated some character of its totem animal. See Powell, Wyandot Government, *Bur. Eth.*, I. 60. Very few of the significations given for the names of the sachemships accord with this rule, which supplies another reason for doubting their accuracy.

No doubt, if the trouble had been taken in time, we might have a complete list of the members of a tribe with the names and rank of each individual (see note 68).

⁵⁰ The division of the tribes at the close of the American Revolution caused much confusion in the appointments of sachems. Some sachemships have become extinct in one country or the other. Others again were transferred to a new clan, and in some cases a sachem was appointed by each fragment of the tribe, so that there are two lines.

Something like this may have happened in the prehistoric separations of the Iroquoians. There are some striking resemblances between the sachem titles in different tribes: Da-yo-ho-go is a Mohawk Wolf and Da-yo-o-yo-go a Cayuga wolf; but either these resemblances are fortuitous or false etymology has altered the names.

The present names of most, if not all, of the sachemships probably antedate the formation of the League. Several are

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mentioned by writers of the seventeenth century by their present names.

51 As noted above, not merely the war sachems, but
I. 65 every sachem in the list had an assistant sachem. Chadwick gives particulars of these so far as now existing in Canada.

52 Da-at-go-dose. The name of this sachem illustrates
I. 222 the variances that are found in the titles attached to the sachemships. Morgan in his first edition gives the Seneca name as (p. 64) Da-at-ga-dose and (p. 231) De-at-ga-doods. Hale, following the sachem's own dialect, Onondaga, calls him Dehatkahthos. In Mohawk he is Tehhatkahdons according to Hale, but Dehhatkatons in Chadwick. Another modern authority (*Appeal Papers*) says Dehatkatons.

53 The word "sachem" is of Algonquin origin and was
I. 62 not used by the Iroquois.

SOCIETY

54 IROQUOIS society differed fundamentally from ours,
I. 74 and Morgan's distinction is that he not only discovered the differences, as many intelligent observers had done before him, but sought out the reasons of them and first reduced our knowledge of aboriginal society to a science.

The unit of Iroquois society was not an individual, nor yet a family, in our sense of the word, but a household including all the dwellers in one of the communal houses elsewhere described. These households by a process of increase and swarming gave rise to clans and phratries, held together by the natural bond of kin. Politically they were united in tribes and confederacies held together by the artificial bond of alliance, but cemented also by the bond of kin.

Thus the social organization of the Iroquois was developed through the separation of near kin, and the political organization through the union of remote kin.

A brief recital of the history of these social and political

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bodies among the Iroquois as nearly as it can now be recovered will illustrate these statements.

I. 76, 79 [✓] The tradition that originally there were but two clans, the Bear and the Deer, means that in the early community from which the Five Nations and the Hurons descended, there were two long houses, one having the bear for its totem and the other the deer. These totems may have been adopted because of the devotion of the household to the chase of that particular animal; but the more probable theory is that, owing to some event or some dream, it had been accepted as an object of veneration by the household. Each of these households consisted of women, children, and unmarried men, claiming their descent from a common female ancestor, or group of female ancestors, and of men married to the women of the household. These men would be, of course, of the other house, for the fundamental rule of society in the gentile or clan stage is that marriage must be out of the clan, though normally within the tribe. Every child in the Deer household would be born of a Deer mother and a Bear father and would itself be a Deer. When such a boy came to distinguish persons, he would see a number of women in the house, one of whom would be his actual mother, and he would call her "mother" (No-yeh, to use the Seneca term).

I. 82 All the other women of his mother's generation he would also call No-yeh, they being his mother's "sisters," that is, women of her generation and house. His actual grandmother would be called by him "grandmother," as would all the other women of her generation. All the children in the house would be children of one or another of his "mothers," and so his "brothers" or "sisters." The men in the house would be of three different classes: first, the men born in the household and not yet removed from it by marriage; of these, those of his mother's generation would be his "uncles," being all "brothers" to his mother. Secondly, his actual father and grandfather whom he would call by those names; and third, the husbands of his other "mothers," whom he would call by a

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word which Morgan translates as "stepfathers." As the family name descended in the female line, that of all the females and unmarried males in the house would be Deer, and, in the case supposed, that of all the married men would be Bear.

In the other house this boy would find his father's relations, his father's "brothers" who would be his "fathers," his father's "sisters" his "aunts," and his father's sisters' children his "cousins." Here also would dwell some of his uncles married to Bear women. The legends of the Amazons and of other separate communities of one sex or the other probably arose from the traditional accounts of such primitive communities as the one described.

I. 82 This system of counting relationships will be less difficult to understand if it is borne in mind that, for example, the word *Hä-nih*, which we translate "father," did not convey to the Iroquois the precise meaning that the word "father" does to us. It was simply, in the community supposed, "Man who may lawfully be my father," that is, a man of the house or group into which my mother is married. From the lack of the institutions of marriage and of the family as we have them, the Iroquois did not recognize nor name relationships as we do. As Morgan has pointed out in *Ancient Society* (p. 442), these names had their origin in an early condition of group marriage, all the men of the group being husbands to all the women. While this condition had been much altered in the days of which the text treats, the names would, of course, never be in advance of the institutions, but would still indicate the former state of affairs and would not be changed or differentiated until a definite need of more precise terms was felt. They had become titles rather than descriptions.

The household thus organized was governed by its permanent members, the women; certain elderly and prudent women being set apart more or less formally as rulers of the house. These would select from among the men of the house, that is, those born therein, a sachem to represent the household in

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treating with the other house or with foreigners, and in the performance of the various religious or political rites and ceremonies. These sachems, one or more from each house, sometimes with the chief women as coadjutors, would meet in the council of the village, which was thus the beginning of a state, uniting the two houses for war and other matters of foreign politics and preserving the peace between them.

Within its own walls each household was supreme. It controlled the lives and property of its members, claimed redress for the injury which it suffered when these were taken, and appointed and deposed its officers, in entire independence of outside control.

From this original village of two houses it is not many steps to the Iroquois Confederacy of a dozen or twenty villages divided among five tribes, each including in successive order phratries, clans, and households.

The original Bear household would in time grow too large for a single dwelling, other houses would be built beside the first, the totem and the sense of relationship being still retained. Thus arose the clan, a group of households recognizing a common totem and a common kinship.

No hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the rights of the household as against the clan. In fact it doubtless varied in different clans and at different times.

The allegiance of each household to the clan was, however, less strong than its allegiance to itself. Property rights would tend to be limited to the house so far as they related to keeping what they had, although when a wrong was done to one household all of the same totem would feel the injury and the aid of all would be welcome in securing redress. And while a sachemship would usually remain in the house of its origin, the sachem would act for all the clan. As the clan and its constituent houses grew larger, the jurisdiction of the household would gradually encroach on that of the clan, and the community of interest or closeness of kin of some houses might in time produce a clan within a clan.

THE PHRATRY

55 The growth and subdivision of the clan produced
I. 75 the phratry, which is a group of clans, just as the clan is a group of households. Some house or group of houses would adopt a new totem, and thus a new clan would be born. The sense of kinship would still remain and with it the prohibition against marrying kin and the united demand for retribution in case of injuries.

In games both of chance and of skill phratry played
I. 294 against phratry. The clans of a phratry were brother clans to each other and cousin clans to those of the other phratry. As time went on, the sense of kin within the phratry became weaker and marriage was allowed with any clan but that of the individual.

There are other ways in which phratries may have been formed. "From the differences in the composition of the phratries in the several tribes it seems probable that the phratries are modified in their gentes (clans) at intervals of time to meet changes of condition. Some gentes prosper and increase in numbers, while others, through calamities, decline, and others become extinct; so that transfers of gentes from one phratry to another were found necessary to preserve some degree of equality." (*Houses*, 11.)

There is an historic instance of the division of a clan which may indicate yet another way in which a phratry might be formed. "We have in the village (Caughnawaga Mission) three families (clans), that of the Bear, that of the Wolf, and that of the Turtle. All new-comers become members of one of these three families. The family of the Turtle is so numerous that they have been obliged to divide it into the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle." (Nau to Bonin, 1735, 68 *J. R.*, 268.) These two Turtle clans would for a time at least preserve so strong a sense of kinship that they would not intermarry and would act together in public matters. In other words they would compose a phratry. This would react upon the Bear and the Wolf, who would marry each other less and Turtles more. Also in games the Bear and Wolf would be

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on one side and the two Turtles on the other; finally, in any dispute between the Turtle phratry and one of the outside clans, the other clan would naturally use its good offices for the weaker party, and thus a phratric bond would grow up, giving an instance of a phratry formed spontaneously by union of separate clans, not by division of any original clan. It happens, accordingly, that in no two of the Six Tribes of the League (except in the case of the Mohawks and Oneidas, each of which had lost a phratry) do the phratries quite coincide.

⁵⁶ A tribe is a political union of kindred clans or parts
I. 39 of clans possessing a common territory and a common dialect.

As the household and the clan became segmented through growth in numbers, so the original community became segmented by migration. The original two-house community was a tribe, and it still remained a tribe when it included two phratries, of three or four clans each.

An Iroquois was bound to his household, clan, and phratry by a single tie, that of kin. To his tribe he was bound not only by the tie of kin, but by those of one land, one speech, and one council-fire.

When by migration or dissension a community was divided, the original tie of blood would remain, but the ties of territory and government and after a while of speech would be readjusted. It usually happened upon the division of a community that a portion of each clan was found in each division, and the tie of kin served to strengthen alliances that might be formed between tribes of the same stock, but when the choice came Wolf did go forth to war against Wolf, striking for his own fireside and tribe against those who were of his own clan but of another tribe. Both sides of this picture appear in the speech of the Oneidas to the Hurons at the end of a war that may have lasted a century. "Thou knowest, thou Huron, that formerly we constituted but one cabin and one country. By some chance, we separated. It is time to

THE CONFEDERACY

unite again." (*Journal des Jesuites*, November 3, 1656, 42 *J. R.*, 252.)

A Mohawk born of a Turtle father and a Bear mother would be himself a Bear, but closely allied to the Turtle and conscious of the blood tie. If he married into the Wolf clan, he would dwell in a Wolf house and would be fat or hungry with the Wolves, and his own children would be Wolves. Thus each of the three Mohawk clans would have a claim upon his regard and upon his tomahawk. Whoever might attack, he would fight for his father, his mother, and his children.

A political union of tribes constituted a confederacy, united by one stock language, contiguity of territory, and a federal council. The dual political allegiance to the tribe and the confederacy is not difficult to be apprehended by us who are citizens of sovereign states and of a federal republic, but the social allegiance to household, clan, and phratry must be also continually borne in mind as not the rival but the support of the political allegiance. The League of the Iroquois was, from one point of view, a union of five tribes, from another a union of eight clans, and the closeness of the weave was due to the intimate union of the warp and the woof.

57 Quite enough of difficulty is unavoidable in presenting accurately institutions so different from our own, but further complication has been added by the varying terms used by different writers and the looseness with which these terms are still employed.

Thus the *clan* is called in the text and by other writers a tribe, in some of the early writers a family, and in Mr. Morgan's *Ancient Society* a gens.

The *household* is recognized in the text but obscurely, under the name of family. Lafitau and other early French writers call it the "cabane."

The *phratry* Morgan recognized but did not name (see text, I. 76, 77, 202, 281, 323).

The *tribe* he called in the text a nation, and the *confederacy* a League.

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The terms used in this note are, except that "clan" is preferred to "gens," those used by Morgan in *Ancient Society*.

It would add much to clearness of statement if a distinction in name were made between an entire clan and the portion of a clan found in a single tribe.

I. 77, It is of course an error to state, as is twice done
87 in the text, that the clan system was a conscious invention.

Morgan had not then got beyond the philosophy of that day, in which everything was created and nothing grew. "Mr. Morgan is of opinion that these institutions were the result of 'a protracted effort of legislation.' An examination of the customs prevailing among other Indian tribes makes it probable that the elements of the Iroquois polity existed among them from an indefinite antiquity; and the legislation of which Mr. Morgan speaks could only involve the arrangement and adjustment of already existing materials." (Parkman, *Pontiac*, I. 12.)

I. 80, Such phrases as "disinheritance of the son" show how
130 Morgan was then influenced by the theory of conscious legislation. He was one of the leaders in upsetting it.

In the *League of the Iroquois* the gentile (clan) organization of society was perceived and presented, though neither the original extent of the system nor its origin and history were comprehended. For purposes of comparison the attempt has been made to state in this note the principles finally established by Morgan. For an adequate statement the reader is referred to Morgan's *Ancient Society* and to Powell's "Wyandot Government" (*Bur. Eth.*, I. 59), while a clear and interesting account appears in Fiske's *Discovery of America*, I. 52; but even the present simple outline may be of interest in view of the great part which the clan has played in human history.

But we will let Morgan speak for himself: —

I. 87 "The gentile organization opens to us one of the oldest and most widely prevalent institutions of mankind. It furnished the nearly universal plan of government

CLANS AND PHRATRIES

of ancient society, Asiatic, European, African, American, and Australian. It was the instrumentality by means of which society was organized and held together. Commencing in savagery, and continuing through the three sub-periods of barbarism, it remained until the establishment of political society, which did not occur until after civilization had commenced. As far as our knowledge extends, this organization runs through the entire ancient world upon all the continents, and it was brought down to the historical period by such tribes as attained to civilization." (*Houses*, p. 1.) "No other institution of mankind has held such an ancient and remarkable relation to the course of human progress." (*Ancient Society*, p. 379.)

CLANS

⁵⁸ The clans and phratries of the Five Nations, Tus-I. 76, 77 caroras, and Hurons are given below: —

	FIRST PHRATRY	SECOND PHRATRY
TUSCARORA	Bear, Eel, Great Turtle, Beaver	Deer, Wolf, Little Turtle, Snipe
HURON	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Beaver	Deer, Snake, Porcupine, Hawk
* SENECA	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Beaver	Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk
* CAYUGA	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Snipe, Eel	Deer, Beaver, Hawk
* ONONDAGA	Wolf, Turtle, Snipe, Beaver, Ball	Deer, Eel (= Hawk), Bear
* ONEIDA	Bear, Wolf, Turtle	Wanting
* MOHAWK	Bear, Wolf, Turtle	Wanting

Among the Tuscaroras the Deer is now extinct, and the Wolf is subdivided into Gray Wolf and Yellow Wolf.

The phratric division of the Hurons is conjectural.

I. 76 It will be observed that the tradition of two original clans, the Bear and the Deer, is well borne out by this list. The probabilities are that the Seneca clans and phratries were the same that existed among the Iroquoians before their separation. The Hurons had eight clans as early as 1653. (Bressani's Relation, 1653, 38 *J. R.*, 283.)

I. 77 The absence of the second phratry and of the Beaver clan of the first phratry from the Mohawk and

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Oneida tribes must date back to the period when these two constituted one tribe. The probable explanation is suggested by the fact that when first discovered the Mohawks had three villages, each tenanted by a single clan. They were then recent fugitives from Canada, and had been almost destroyed in wars with the Algonquins and Hurons. If the clans dwelt in separate villages at the beginning of this period of war and migration, it might easily be that only three emigrated to New York, the others being destroyed or joining the Hurons. Men of these lost clans who dwelt with their wives' families would leave no trace, for their children would take the clan name of their mother, and in one generation all the clans represented only by males would become extinct. Or the clans might have been lost in another way. It was quite usual for an entire clan or village to migrate to a hunting or fishing country at certain seasons of the year, and it sometimes happened that through war or other circumstances, they failed to reunite with their kindred. It is therefore possible that the Mohawks and Oneidas never had more than three clans after their separation from the parent stock.

The only other Iroquoian people of whose clans we have a distinct record, the Cherokees, had ten clans, of which the Wolf and Deer are the only ones occurring among the Iroquois. This divergence may be expected, since only three of the ten clans bear the names of animals. The Cherokees had evidently taken up a new line of nomenclature, and the old clan names were gradually being dropped.

Some of the Huron and Seneca clans may have numbered nearly two thousand persons.

NUMBERS

59 It is improbable that at any time from the establishment of the League to its disruption by the Revolutionary War the Iroquois numbered more than 15,000 or 16,000 souls. This was apparently the total

NUMBERS

when they first march into history, and it is very close to the total to-day. This uniformity in numbers, however, is little more than an interesting coincidence. The original Iroquois blood has been much diluted by admixture of other Iroquoians, of Algonquins, and of whites.

The only contemporary testimony tending to confirm Morgan's figures is that of the Jesuit Dablon in 1671, who says that the Senecas alone are 12,000 or 13,000 persons; but Garnier, who was himself a resident among the Senecas, says, in 1673, that the Senecas, including adopted Hurons, are 800 fighting men, and the reading of Dablon's statement may very well be a copyist's error in punctuation. Recent experiences with the Boers have shown the difficulty of making an accurate estimate of a scattered population.

Parkman considers (*Jesuits*, p. lxvi) that the figure of 25,000 given by Morgan in the text is far too high, and computes the population at the height of Iroquois power at 10,000 or 12,000. Morgan afterward thought 17,000 was about right for this period, but this is a little higher than the testimony warrants.

The earliest attempt at an estimate that we have is in the *Relation of 1642-43*, where Vimont states that there are 700 or 800 Mohawk warriors, and that the Upper Iroquois are probably a little more numerous than the Hurons. This figure for the Mohawks is confirmed by Jogues (24 *J. R.*, 294). If Vimont is right there were at least 16,000 Iroquois altogether, perhaps considerably more, but his figure for the Upper Iroquois can hardly be more than a guess. Most of the early writers give merely the number of warriors. The warriors were usually about a quarter of an Indian population (*Relation of 1657-58*); but owing to special circumstances, may not have been more than a fifth of the Iroquois, and the latter proportion is accordingly accepted.

Taking the total at 16,000 in 1642, the tribes counted about as follows: Mohawks 3,000, Oneidas 1,000, Onondagas 3,000, Cayugas 2,000, and Senecas 7,000.

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Of the 2,200 warriors mentioned in the *Relation of 1660*, it is said that only 1,200 were native Iroquois, the rest being adopted captives. In 1668 we are told that two-thirds of the Mohawks and Oneidas were Huron and Algonquin captives.

The figures in the following table are usually obtained by multiplying a stated number of warriors by five. After the seventeenth century the figures include the Tuscaroras.

1642	Jesuit Relations	16,000
1660	" "	11,000
1665	" "	11,500
1668	Bruyas	10,000
1681	DeChesneau	10,000
1684	De La Barre	13,000
1687	French Memoir	10,000
1689	Unnamed authority (Quoted U. S. Census 1890)	12,850
1698	" " " " "	6,150
1720	Lafitau	15,000
1736	Unnamed authority (Quoted U. S. Census 1890)	7,350
1763	Sir Wm. Johnson	11,650
1773	Unnamed authority (Quoted U. S. Census 1890)	12,500
1877	U. S. Census (In U. S. and Canada)	13,668
1890	" " "	15,870

The figures for the United States Census of 1900 and the Canadian Census of 1901 are not yet accessible, but the best obtainable information indicates not less than 8,000 Iroquois in the United States and 10,000 in Canada.

In the State of New York there were, in 1890, 5,239 Iroquois, to which should be added 98 on the adjacent Cornplanter Reservation in Pennsylvania. There were 2,050 elsewhere in the United States.

I. ²⁴ While Morgan's figures for the sixteenth century are too high, his estimate of 7,000, in 1850, is too low. There were then in the United States and Canada nearly 10,000 Iroquois.

II. ¹¹⁰ The foregoing figures show how swiftly, by the shock of collision with a superior race and by war and pestilence, an Indian population may be reduced, and how

POPULATION OF TOWNS

by peaceful arts and adjustment to the changed conditions it may again be restored. The Iroquois are now slowly increasing.

As an instance of their losses by war and pestilence, Father Jogues says (1642) that there were 700 Mohawk warriors, and a later French captive (1660) finds only 200. The latter figure is probably below the facts, for in the same year a Mohawk war-party of 200 is reported.

60 The Iroquoians were gregarious, and apparently the size
I. 308 of their towns was limited only by the difficulty of raising corn and cutting firewood for a large population within a reasonable distance. Partly for protection and still more from their own fondness for society, nearly all were found in closely built villages varying in size from 300 to 3,000 inhabitants.

In the *Relation of 1656-57*, it is said that fourteen Iroquois villages are known, which with due allowance for hamlets and single cabins would make the average village contain perhaps 800 people. The Huron villages averaged six persons to a fire, and less than 400 persons to a village. (*Relation of 1640.*) In ten Neutral villages there were 3,000 persons. (*Relation of 1641.*) A Tobacco village of 600 families is mentioned in the *Relation of 1649-50*. Father Peron writes (15 J. R., 152) of a Huron village of 800 families. Le Jeune (*Relation of 1639*) says there were 300 fires (at least 2,000 people) in Ossosane.

Payne, in his *America*, tells us that the Illinois village of Kaskaskia had 10,000 inhabitants, an allegation which rests on better foundation than his statement that the Iroquois could put 15,000 warriors in the field.

The location of the Iroquois and their intimate connection with our history have caused their numbers to be known and recorded. Of most of the tribes and of the total Indian population of our country in early times no such accurate information exists, and the estimates which have been made exhibit a wide variance. One author has computed the total population of North America at the discovery to be sixteen millions, of whom perhaps one-half were within the continental territories of the United States. A very slight acquaint-

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ance with the conditions of Indian life will suffice to show the absurdity of these figures (see *Bur. Eth.*, 1885-86, p. 33). In the reaction from such high estimates there has been developed a tendency to assume that the benefits and injuries which civilization has brought very nearly balance each other, and that there are now as many Indians as there ever were. Roosevelt forcibly answers: "This last is a theory that can only be upheld on the supposition that the whole does not consist of the sum of the parts, for whereas we can check off on our fingers the tribes that have slightly increased, we can enumerate scores that have died out almost before our eyes." (*Winning of the West*, I. 18.) Where are the Algonquins of New England, Long Island, and New Jersey? Where are the Powhattans, the Natchez, the multitudinous stocks of California? In the communities which show an increase it is often, as noted in the case of the Iroquois, accompanied by the absorption of fragments of other Indian stocks and a considerable infusion of white blood. The Indian population of our territory in 1890 was 248,253, in 1900, over 300,000, about a fourth of the number in each case citizens of the United States and counted in the General Census. In the sixteenth century our territory probably held 600,000 Indians. In all these computations Alaska and Porto Rico are excluded.

II. ¹²⁰ The destiny of the Indian is not extermination but amalgamation with the white race. Not only is there much white blood in the veins of nominal Indians, but a considerable number of nominal whites count Indians among their ancestors. Hence, to state with precision how fast Indian blood is increasing, if at all, would be an impossible task. The process of assimilation is of course a very gradual one, but the case of the Indian is very different from that of the negro. "There seems to be a chance that in one part of our country, the Indian Territory, the Indians, who are continually advancing in civilization, will remain as the ground element of the population, like the Creoles in Louisiana, or the Mexicans in New Mexico." (Roosevelt, *ibid.*)

PROCESSION OF SACHEMS

COUNCILS

61 "A CIVIL council, which might be called by either I. 104 nation, was usually summoned and opened in the following manner: If, for example, the Onondagas made the call, they would send heralds to the Oneidas on the east, and the Cayugas on the west of them, with belts containing an invitation to meet at the Onondaga council-grove on such a day of such a moon, for purposes which were also named. It would then become the duty of the Cayugas to send the same notification to the Senecas, and of the Oneidas to notify the Mohawks. If the council was to meet for peaceful purposes, then each sachem was to bring with him a bundle of fagots of white cedar, typical of peace; if for warlike objects, then the fagots were to be of red cedar, emblematical of war.

"At the day appointed the sachems of the several nations, with their followers, who usually arrived a day or two before and remained encamped at a distance, were received in a formal manner by the Onondaga sachems at the rising of the sun. They marched in separate procession from their camps to the council-grove, each bearing his skin robe and bundle of fagots, where the Onondaga sachems awaited them with a concourse of people. The sachems then formed themselves into a circle, an Onondaga sachem, who by appointment acted as master of the ceremonies, occupying the side toward the rising sun. At a signal they marched round the circle, moving by the north. It may be here observed that the rim of the circle toward the north is called the 'cold side' (o-to'-wa-ga); that on the west 'the side toward the setting sun' (ha-gă-kwăs'-gwă); that on the south 'the side of the high sun' (en-de-ih'-kwă); and that on the east 'the side of the rising sun' (t'-kă-gwit-kăs'-gwă). After marching three times around on the circle single file, the head and foot of the column being joined, the leader stopped on the rising sun side, and deposited before him his bundle of fagots. In this he was followed by the others, one at a time, following by the

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north, thus forming an inner circle of fagots. After this each sachem spread his skin robe in the same order, and sat down upon it, cross-legged, behind his bundle of fagots, with his assistant sachem standing behind him. The master of the ceremonies, after a moment's pause, arose, drew from his pouch two pieces of dry wood and a piece of punk with which he proceeded to strike fire by friction. When fire was thus obtained, he stepped within the circle and set fire to his own bundle, and then to each of the others in the order in which they were laid. When they were well ignited, and at a signal from the master of the ceremonies, the sachems arose and marched three times around the Burning Circle, going as before by the north. Each turned from time to time as he walked, so as to expose all sides of his person to the warming influence of the fires. This typified that they warmed their affections for each other in order that they might transact the business of the council in friendship and unity. They then reseeded themselves each upon his own robe. After this the master of the ceremonies, again rising to his feet, filled and lighted the pipe of peace from his own fire. Drawing three whiffs, one after the other, he blew the first toward the zenith, the second toward the ground, and the third toward the sun. By the first act he returned thanks to the Great Spirit for the preservation of his life during the past year, and for being permitted to be present at this council. By the second, he returned thanks to his Mother, the Earth, for her various productions which had ministered to his sustenance. And by the third, he returned thanks to the Sun for his never-failing light, ever shining upon all. These words were not repeated, but such is the purport of the acts themselves. He then passed the pipe to the first upon his right toward the north, who repeated the same ceremonies, and then passed it to the next, and so on around the burning circle. The ceremony of smoking the calumet also signified that they pledged to each other their faith, their friendship, and their honor.

"These ceremonies completed the opening of the council,

LIMITED PANTHEISM

which was then declared to be ready for the business upon which it had been convened." (*Ancient Society*, 137 note.)

RELIGION

62 THE beautiful and elevating conception of the Great
I. 143, Spirit watching over his red children from the heavens,
174 and pleased with their good deeds, their prayers, and
their sacrifices, has been known to the Indians only since the
Gospel of Christ was preached to them. The primitive In-
dians, says W. P. Clark, in his valuable book, *The Indian Sign
Language*, "were limited pantheists — they did not believe
that the universe taken as a whole was God; but that every-
thing in the world had its spiritual essence made manifest in
the forces and laws of nature." Hence the regard of the
Indian for the totem of his clan held much more of reverence
than the feeling of a present-day Briton or American for the
lion or the eagle. Not only was the clan totem revered,
but each individual had his personal totem — (in Algonquin
manitou, in Iroquois *oki*). In youth after certain exercises
and fastings he waited for a dream, and whatever he dreamed
of became his *manitou* on which his fortune depended, — the
Master of his Life, the Jesuits translated it. With one it
might be a muskrat, with another a knife; and whatever the
totemic object, it accompanied the Indian on his journeys and
especially on the war-path. If the *manitou* were an animal,
the skin, or the plumage of a bird, was taken as containing
the spirit of the animal. It would seem that when the Sen-
ecas attacked Herkimer at Oriskany they left in their camp
their baggage containing many of these totemic objects. The
capture of this baggage by Gansevoort was an even greater
calamity than their defeat by Herkimer, and after that day
they had no heart in the campaign. In all religions
I. 206 we have accounts of divine revelations in dreams and
visions, but to the Indian every dream was a divine message, and
to the Senecas especially none was too absurd to be obeyed.

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In addition to this limited pantheism the Iroquois recognized several personal deities. Ataentsic was the oldest of their deities, and dwelt with her grandson Jouskeha in a bark cabin in the land of souls. She has been connected with the Moon and he with the Sun. Areskoui, the God of War, is more evidently a Sun God. Most of the worship now given to the Great Spirit belongs historically to Areskoui. Tarenyawagon was much revered, for he was the sender of dreams, and Hiawatha was an actual hero raised after his death to a place in the Iroquois Pantheon. The Iroquois religion was in a state of transition from pantheism to polytheism, and would soon have developed into a system like that of Rome where the nature worship was merged in that of the personal deities.

Very far was all this from the pure theism which has been poetically ascribed, in the alleged belief in the Great Spirit.

There was however one deity worshipped throughout North America, the all-seeing one, the dweller in Heaven, the giver of many blessings, the Sun. To him were paid prayer and sacrifice and thanks for such good gifts as food, sunshine, and victory over the enemy. When the missionaries told of the God of the white man and his attributes, the account seemed credible to the Indian, who accepted much of it as further history of his Sun God; and the sacrifices, thanksgivings, and offerings were still offered to the Great Spirit as in earlier days to the Sun. Though the preaching of Christianity made but slight direct impression upon the observances and actions of most of the Red Men, it did greatly affect their myths and beliefs, thus preparing the way for an ethical religion.

In the early days the various divinities were simply powers to be propitiated, but of influence on conduct and morals there was not much more in the Indian beliefs and observances than in a gambler's charms for luck. With the belief in the beneficent Great Spirit there came to be more of a desire to do that which was pleasing in his sight. Finally, what may be called the third period of Iroquois religion was inaugurated

THE NEW RELIGION

by the reforms of Handsome Lake, who, preserving the old forms, associated them with the worship of a single supreme God and the doing of righteousness.

In common parlance the modern Iroquois are divided into Christians and Pagans, but the latter refuse the term Pagan, saying that they also worship God.

63 These visions have a striking resemblance to those
I. 234, in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and were perhaps sug-
242 gested by that work, or some other teaching of the missionaries; others suggest the classical eschatology.

If confession had been an ancient Iroquois practice, Lafitau would certainly have mentioned it, for he describes a similar custom in Peru.

64 The recent experiments made by Professor Atwater
I. 236 with the object of determining whether alcohol is a food seem to have been anticipated by those of Jimmy Johnson, which, within their own field, are quite as conclusive.

65 The sachems as well as the chiefs were ex
I. 177 officio members of the order of Keepers of the Faith. (*Ancient Society*, 82.)

66 The following statement of "The New Religion"
I. 218 was given by a Seneca in 1888, *Indian Problem*, II.
1104: "The general belief is, one great spirit controls every-
thing; God, he is called in English, he is a supreme power on
earth, everything; and then they believe in temperance, that
is the most part of their religion, is temperance; and they
believe in thanking, mostly, to the Great Spirit, that is the
most important thing; most everything they see they thank
him; and it is their doctrine to be kind to one another, to be
good, honest people; and they believe a man is to have only
one woman to live with; and they are strict; their doctrine
is against marry more than one woman; it commenced about
eighty-eight year ago that way; before that we was wild;
they would murder one another, and drinking just about that
time; there was a good deal of whisky brought for the
Indians; and they had terrible times; and then they got up

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this Indian doctrine; and Handsome Lake he preached to the Indians; he was taken sick, they claimed, and some good things he showed to the people, and everybody adopted right away; after that doctrine everybody was good; everybody was good; and all shaking hands and all feeling good; and that is the starting of this Indian religion; and along about that time a party of Indians went to Washington, went to the President, and they showed their doctrine, and, in reply, he made — I was looking over some old papers, some old Indian things — it was all coming to pieces, and I just took a sketch of it, to tell us about the reply from the President through the Secretary of War; I took a sketch of it, and here is the sketch; it states the date right there.”

67 The following is a copy of the paper referred to by witness :

I. 220 *To Conyodareyah (or Handsome Lake), with his brethren and associates of the Seneca and Onondaga nations of Indians, now present at the seat of government of the United States.*

BROTHERS. Your father and good friend, the President of the United States, has taken into consideration all that you communicated to him, when you took him by the hand three days ago, and he has authorized me to give you the following answer :

BROTHERS. The President is pleased with seeing you all in good health after so long a journey, and he rejoices in his heart to find that one of your own people has been employed to make you sober, good and happy, and that he is so well disposed to give you good counsel, and to act before you such useful examples.

BROTHERS. If you and all the red people follow the advice of your friend and teacher, the Handsome Lake, and in future be sober, honest, industrious and good, there can be no doubt but the Great Spirit will take care of you and make you happy.

BROTHERS. The great council of the sixteen fires, and the President of the United States, all wish to live with the red people like brothers, to have no more war or disputes, but to pursue such measures as shall contribute to their lasting comfort. For the purpose, the great council of the sixteen fires are now considering the propriety of prohibiting the use of spirituous liquors among all their red brethren

“THE LICENSE”

within the United States. This measure, if carried into effect, will be pleasing in the sight of the Great Spirit, who delights in the happiness of his common family.

BROTHERS. Your Father, the President, will at all times be your friend, and he will protect you and all his red children from bad people who could do you or them any injury, and he will give you writing on paper to assure you that what land you hold can not be taken from you by any person excepting by your own consent and agreement.

BROTHER. The Handsome Lake has told us that your angels have desired him to select two sober, good young men to take care of your business, and that he has chosen Charles Obeal and Strong for that purpose. The President is willing that his red children should choose their own agents for transacting their business, and if Charles Obeal and Strong are the men who your people can best confide in, he has no objection to their being appointed, but it would be improper for the President to interfere in your national appointments.

Given under the hand and seal of the war office of the United States, this 13th day of March, 1802.

H. DEARBORN.

NAMES

68 “THE Indian has no family name. His name is I. 85 single, and like the prænomen of the Roman or our Christian name, is purely an individual designation. The family, in our sense, is wanting; so that the names of several brothers and sisters would not suggest the fact of any connection among them.”

(Their significance would, however, in many cases show the common totem. See Powell, Wyandot Government, *Bur. Eth.*, I. 60, and see *infra*.)

“In bestowing and changing names their customs are original and novel. They have names adapted to different periods and pursuits of life; one class for infancy and childhood; another for manhood; another for their religious advisers, called by the Iroquois, ‘Keepers of the Faith,’ and another for chief and sachem. These names are not taken up and conferred at

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random, but under fixed regulations. Each clan has its own clan names, which are kept distinct and which no other clan is allowed to use. They are family names; for the clan is but a great family of which the chief is the head. It is said by some of the Indian nations that the names have such clan characteristics that the clan of an individual may be known from his name alone."

"Upon the birth of a child, the mother, or some relative in her behalf, applies to the chief of her clan for a list of clan names which are not then in use and of the class for children. Out of those named over to her she selects such a name as pleases her fancy, which is then agreed upon as the future name. At the next council the birth and name of the child, and the name of its father and mother are publicly announced; and this was the simple form of an Indian christening. Their names are significant, as all names originally were, but with the Indian their signification is still preserved. O-wi-go, a 'floating canoe,' and Ga-ha-no, 'hanging flower,' are specimens of their childhood names.

"At fourteen or sixteen years of age, the name became unsuitable, the person having reached maturity. A new name was then selected; and the taking away of the old name and the bestowal of the new was made in some of the nations an important event; with this change he ceased to be a boy, and became a man. He could then go upon the war-path and speak in council.

"The power to make this change was lodged primarily with the chief of the clan. But it might be made either by the mother or by a brother or sister, but never by the father, and it was usually done without the consent or even knowledge of the person whose name was changed. If these near relatives neglect to make the change at the proper time, it then becomes the duty of the chief to do it. At the next public council the change and the new name are formally announced, and it takes effect only from the time of this announcement.

"When a private person is raised to the dignity of chief or

NAMES AND TITLES

sachem, his former name is taken away, and a new name of the higher class is conferred in its place. This name can never afterwards be changed unless the sachem is deposed; for the name itself is a title, and with it would pass away the title

or office itself. Neither can that class of persons
I. 178 who are called 'Keepers of the Faith,' among the Iroquois, change their names without giving up the office, as these names and the office they confer are inseparable. Any other person of mature years may change his own name, by his own motion, provided he can induce a chief of some other clan than his own to announce the change in council."

"A clan may lend one of their names to a person in another clan, which is often done; but when this person dies or his name is changed, the name so borrowed returns again to the clan."

"New names are not now invented by the Indian any more than they are by ourselves; but old names are handed down in the clan as our names come down to us, but not shorn, as in our case, of their better part, their primary signification." (Lewis H. Morgan, *Amer. Ass'n Advct. Science*, 1859, Vol. XIII.)

(In the foregoing extract the words "tribe" and "tribal" of the original are altered to "clan.")

"It is so arranged that if possible no name is ever lost, so that when one of the family is dead all the relatives assemble and deliberate together which of them shall bear the name of the deceased, giving his own to some other relative. He who takes a new name, takes up also the duties appertaining to it, and thus he becomes a captain if the deceased was one. This done, they check their tears and cease to weep for the dead, having placed him in this manner among the living, saying that he is resuscitated and has come to life in the person of him who has received his name and has rendered it immortal. Hence a Captain never has a different name from his predecessor, as formerly in Egypt all the kings bore the name of Ptolemy." (Rel. 1642, 23 *J. R.*, 164.)

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69 In the same way each successive Governor of Canada
I. 245 was called by the Iroquois *Onontio* (Great Mountain, being a translation of the name of Montmagny), each Governor of Pennsylvania was *Onas* (a pen), Presidents of the United States bore the name given first to Washington. The principle was, of course, the familiar one that the king never dies.

70 The Iroquois language was, like our own, a living
I. 49 one, and words and phrases became from time to time obsolete. Many of our proper names preserve words obsolete in general speech, and the same was the case with the Iroquois. They had no written language to conserve forms, but yet they expected proper names to be significant, while most of our proper names are meaningless to the uninitiated. Many of their names have therefore been twisted to accord with a false etymology, and the significance of many others has been forgotten, but is now too readily guessed at. A conspicuous instance is the list of Sachems given above. It is evident that but few of these significations are reliable. It is the Indian nature to desire to please, and for all these reasons their etymologies should be looked upon with suspicion. For a good example see Thoreau, *The Maine Woods*, p. 193.

71 Not only was the name of a deceased chieftain re-
vived for his successor, but a living person might part with his name as a token of friendship. (Colden, I. 111, and see the story of Cornplanter, text, I. 205.)

72 An Iroquois must not be addressed by his name. You
I. 82 must say "my brother" or "my uncle." Lafitau, I. 70.

73 Everywhere in the world rivers and lakes usually, and
II. 61 towns occasionally, preserve the names of earlier dwellers in the land.

"In a list of 1885 lakes of the United States, published for the Fish Commission, 285 have Indian names, but a larger proportion is shown in rivers and streams. In a list of principal rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic, but excluding those of the St. Lawrence basin, 724 have Indian names. By adding those of this valley, the

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Pacific coast, and a multitude of small streams, the list might be doubled." (Beauchamp, *Indian Names in New York*.)

Half of the States and Territories of the Union and a third of the counties of New York bear Indian names.

In New York, about a hundred Iroquois geographical names, besides many of Algonquin origin, are still in general use. If names of unimportant streams and alternative names of only local use are added, the total of Iroquois derivation would probably be doubled.

It should also be noted that many of our geographical names are simply translations of the Indian names; Aurora (Iroquois *Deawendote*, Constant Dawn) and Lake Pleasant (Algonquin *Congamuc*, Pleasant Lake) are examples.

74 For Indian archery and its implements see "North I. 296 American Bows, Arrows, and Quivers," *S. R.*, 1893, p. 631. From Gano, "arrow," and Waano, "bow," Morgan compounded the word Ganowanian, which he applied to the Indians as a generic term. Thus the Ganowanian family would be the people of the bow and arrow. The name Amerind has lately been proposed for the same race.

LANGUAGE

75 IN all the tongues of the Iroquoian stock the labial II. 62, consonants are absent, so that, as Lafitau says, they

75 can talk with their pipe in their teeth. This remarkable peculiarity separates them not only from their Algonquin neighbors, but from such peoples as the Sioux, of whom Morgan and others have considered the Iroquoians an offshoot. This characteristic of these languages is respectfully commended to the attention of writers of fiction, who usually assume that to procure a characteristic Iroquoian name, it is necessary only to stir a few labials and a few vowels together. Thus, in *The Romance of Dollard*, Mrs. Catherwood introduces a Huron girl of high breeding, one Massawippa; Miss Johnston in *Prisoners of Hope* utilizes a Conestoga who brags

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that he is an Iroquois, and calls himself Monakatocka ; Mrs. Mary P. Wells Smith associates with her *Young and Old Puritans of Hatfield* a beneficent but discourteous Mohawk called Pepoonuck, and likewise Cooper devised the appellation Musquerusque for an unpleasant Huron who scalps and tortures certain characters in *Satanstoe*.

II. 63 According to Hale and Parker *f* occurs sporadically in Mohawk.

76 Most Indian names of lakes and rivers are, so to II. 80, speak, relative rather than absolute, The Lake at 85, 89 Oswego, The River that leads to Onondaga, so that the main stream and all the branches of a river may be called by a certain name by people going down stream, and may have several names, according to the several destinations, in the mouths of people bound up stream. So among ourselves the same stretch of highway is called the Boston Road, the Hartford Road, or the Main Street according to the point of view of the speaker. The Indian point of view is made clear by Mr. Silas B. Smith, a Clatsop Indian, in a letter printed in *Wonderland*, 1900, published by the Northern Pacific Railway. Mr. Smith says :

“ I wish to state this proposition, which cannot be overthrown, that the Indians in the Northwest country, extending as far back as the Rocky Mountains, never name a river *as* a river ; they name localities. That locality may be of a greater or less extent, and they may say this water leads to such a place, or it will carry you to such and such a place, but never name a stream.

“ I know of some very good people who are hunting for the Indian names of the Columbia and its tributaries, and some who have even told me that they had found the name of the Columbia ; but it is a mistake, an entire mistake, for it is not in the book, and they are simply chasing a ‘ will o’ the wisp.’ ”

77 Nor is it always easy to comprehend or state with II. 82 precision the shade of meaning implied in the Indian word. Mr. A. G. Richmond told me that Canajoharie

NO ABSTRACT TERMS

means "Pot that washes itself," the reference being to the whirling of the water in a large pot-hole in the bed of the Canajoharie Creek. Morgan's note says, "Washing the basin." Beauchamp, *Indian Names*, gives also "Kettle shaped hole in the rocks." Obviously here is no difference of opinion as to the origin of the name, but a divergent effort at translating it. Probably Morgan is nearest to the idea in the mind of the Indian.

The village of Canajoharie, though several times moved and to points remote from the creek, always retained the name. Here we have a suggestion of our place names which are usually meaningless or at least meaning-lost. Newport may be inland, and Belmont a swamp.

78 Of the sign language, so important on the prairies, hardly a trace is to be found among the Iroquois. In Northeastern America there were but two tongues, Iroquoian and Algonquian, and little need for a volapük. Nor was there in the forest the opportunity for signalling at a distance that is given on the prairie.

79 Europeans have never found the Iroquois tongue easy to learn, but because of differences in the mental processes which the language expresses rather than from inherent difficulties of articulation and inflection.

Many writers have noticed the abundance of concrete terms, and the lack of abstract words. Thus for the varieties, sexes, and ages of a single animal they would have a multitude of terms, but no general word for animal. Or they would have words for good man, good woman, good dog, but no word for goodness. "It is a peculiarity of the languages of our Indian nations that, while they are barren of terms to express metaphysical or abstract conceptions, they are opulent in terms for the designation of natural objects, and for expressing relative differences in the same object. In the Ojibwa, for example, there are different names for the beaver according to his age, and compound terms to indicate sex, as follows," etc. (*Beaver*, 190.)

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Again, as LeJeune says (*Rel. 1636*), "It is remarkable that all their nouns are universally conjugated." Lafitau puts this more tersely (*IV. 192*), "Their language is all verb."

For valuable essays on the Huron and Iroquois languages see LeJeune, *Relation 1636* (*10 J. R.*, 116) and Hale, *Iroq. Book of Rites*, p. 99.

Max Müller, after studying Mohawk, wrote to Hale: "To my mind the structure of such a language as the Mohawk is quite sufficient evidence that those who worked out such a work of art were powerful reasoners and accurate classifiers."

II. 61, It is hardly necessary to remark that when Morgan 66, 74 says that "Latin is," in contrast to Greek, "a compound language," he is using, as often in this chapter and elsewhere, the jargon of the science of day before yesterday, but the fact is worth noting as showing how quickly and completely a scientific thesis can disappear.

WAMPUM

80 DR. BEAUCHAMP, as well as Mr. Morgan, thought II. 52 that the Iroquois had no bead wampum until they obtained it from the Dutch. There is however considerable evidence to the contrary, and Lafitau considers it as of ancient use. In historic times the Iroquois obtained wampum chiefly by traffic with the Dutch, but the Algonquins of the coast had probably preceded the Dutch in this trade. In 1666 the Mohawks and Oneidas had a war with some tribe called the "Wampum Makers" who may have been their original purveyors of this article.

81 The statement that when one tribe called a council I. 104 it sent the belt to the next, which then took up the duty of sending the belt on, just as the fiery cross was sped in *The Lady of the Lake*, may be correct as to later times, but the earlier precedents are to the contrary. Several references in the French writers indicate that it was irregular and discourteous to send wampum by a third party. The sender

WAMPUM BELTS

of a belt should deliver it. A direct ruling on this point is found in Stone's *Sir William Johnson*, II. 90, 91. The Onondagas had called a general council inviting the Mohawks, as well as Sir William Johnson, to Onondaga. The belt was delivered to Johnson by the Oneidas. Doubting the propriety of such delivery, he referred the matter to the Mohawks, who advised him that by their laws some of the Onondagas should have come down with the belt. On this decision the belt and the invitation were rejected. Moreover, if any but the Mohawks or the Senecas called a council the simple method mentioned in the text would not have availed. It would have been necessary to send at least two belts.

82 The giving and acceptance of wampum had much the same effect in Iroquois transactions that the signing and sealing of a contract or treaty has among ourselves.

I. 114 "For having no writing or letters, they supply the deficiency by the words which they talk into these belts, each of which records some particular affair or detail, and to avoid confusion the belts are varied and the white and purple beads arranged in different order. The Sachems read them often together, so that in this way they do not forget anything." (Lafitau, II. 203.)

In this mnemonic use the wampum has often been compared to the quipus of Peru. For more informal records the Iroquois used wooden tallies.

WAMPUM KEEPER

83 AFTER the Revolution the Onondagas divided, I. 61, those that followed the fortunes of the king going I. 115, 327 with the Mohawks to the Grand River in Canada, the others remaining in New York. Each division kept up its tribal organization, and at the separation an amicable division of the Wampums was made. It is probable that more important Wampums remained in New York, being at first kept among the Onondagas on the Buffalo Creek reser-

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vation, and later in the present reservation in the ancient country of the Onondagas. In Canada the Hoyowenato Sachemship is continued. Chadwick calls it Hononweyehde, and says, "This chief was hereditary keeper of the wampum and as such was called Hotchustanona" (Chadwick, 91). In New York, however, the care of the wampum passed to other sachems and chiefs.

I. 115 Probably the last regular wampum keeper in New York was Harry Webster. After his death, about twenty years ago, his son Thomas Webster was appointed. This succession of the son to the father shows an increasing laxity in appointment as it necessarily involved a change from one clan to another, and so from one sachemship to another. Honowenato was a Wolf (text, I. 61), but Thomas Webster was called Ha-yah-du-gih-wah, or "Bitter body" (in Seneca Ganedajewake, text, I. 61) and was a Snipe. Thomas Webster seems however to have exercised all the functions of a wampum keeper. He had the custody of the treaties as well as of the wampum, and seems to have regarded the latter as the more sacred, for in 1888 he produced the treaties before the legislative committee, but declined to produce the wampum "because the property didn't belong to him alone." He testified that he was the wampum keeper of the Onondaga nation, not of the Six Nations, and the four treaties which he produced are all treaties with the Onondagas alone. General Henry B. Carrington testified, in the suit of Onondaga Nation *vs.* Thacher (*infra*), that he was told that Webster "really seemed to have second sight and seemed to see things through those wampums that others did not see. Seemed to see historical significance. Webster's looking upon these wampums was not considered merely a curious inspection, but that there was a history of a people involved in them, and he seemed to get grotesque things out of them." (Onondaga Nation *vs.* Thacher, *Papers on Appeal*, 78), and from Webster's testimony (*Ind. Prob.*, I. 497) it would seem that the supposition of second sight was justified. "It is nothing

WAMPUM KEEPER

for a white man, it is all for the Indians; there is a tree set in the ground, and it touches the heavens, and under that tree sets this wampum; it sets on a log, and the fire, coals of fire, placed by the side of it, and this fire is unquenchable, and the Six Nations are all to this council fire, held by this tribe." Hale says that a pine tree was the emblem of the Confederacy. David Cusick says, in his *Ancient History of the Six Nations*, speaking of the formation of the League: "At Onondaga a tree of peace was planted reached the clouds of Heaven; under the shade of this tree the Senators are invited to set and deliberate: . . . the Onondaga was considered a heart of the country; numerous belts and strings of wampam were left with the famous chief as record of alliance." Nevertheless Webster being in want of a horse and wagon sold four belts to General Carrington for \$75, the purchase being intended to be for account of the United States. The Government, however, declined to confirm the purchase, and General Carrington sold them for his own account. Finally, they were offered to the Board of Commissioners representing New York at the Columbian Exposition held at Chicago in 1893; there being no appropriation available, the belts were bought by one of the Commissioners, the Hon. John Boyd Thacher, and as his property were exhibited during the Exposition.

In 1897 a suit was brought against Mr. Thacher in the names of the Onondaga Nation, certain individual Indian plaintiffs and the University of the State of New York, the complaint alleging that Webster, being only the custodian and not the owner of the wampums, could not sell them, that the University at a council had been raised up as wampum keeper, and that it was entitled to the possession of them. The appointment of the University was further confirmed by chapter 153 of the Laws of 1899. The Court at Special Term was of opinion that at the date of Webster's sale to General Carrington in 1891 the League of the Six Nations had no active or actual existence nor any such officer as a

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wampum keeper, and found for the defendant (29 *Misc.* 428). This decision was affirmed by the Appellate Division (53 *App. Div.* 561). The case is now in the Court of Appeals.

The four belts in question are pictured in *Bur. Eth.*, II. 246 and following, and in the Indian Volume of Census of 1890, p. 473. The most important of these belts is thus described in Clark's *Onondaga*: "The several nations are distinguished by particular squares, and these are joined together by a line of white wampum, and united to a heart in the centre, implying the union of hand and heart as one." (See quotation from Cusick above.) Another belt is read as recording the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, and shows the Long House and fifteen figures with joined hands, thirteen of them representing the thirteen United States, the two others representing Washington and Todadaho. In the Census Volume it is stated that the house shown is the new Capitol, but this is more than doubtful.

"Their belts are mostly black wampum, painted red when they denote war. They describe castles sometimes upon them as square figures of white wampum, and in alliance, human figures holding a chain of friendship, each figure representing a nation." (Sir Wm. Johnson to Arthur Lee, 28 February, 1771.) The Canada Iroquois still keep some wampum, and belts have been given and received by them within recent years. (Chadwick, 77.)

Since the foregoing note was prepared, there has been published Bulletin No. 41 of the New York State Museum, *Wampum and Shell Articles Used by the New York Indians*. This is the most complete work on the subject and is well illustrated.

AGRICULTURE

- 84 "THE extent to which corn was grown among
I. 191, these tribes will justify the use of much stronger
II. 30 language than Mr. Morgan employs when he declares that 'it cannot be affirmed with correctness that the

VALUE OF AGRICULTURE

Indian subsisted principally by the chase' " (Carr, Mounds of Mississippi Valley, S. R., 1891. See also text, I. 320.) In fact their diet was more closely limited to agricultural products than is that of ourselves, their successors. Their staple food was corn in one of its many preparations, the most usual being *sagamite*, a thin hominy mush. Eaten without salt this was very insipid, and was therefore flavored with dried fish, meat, oil, or anything else that could be obtained. The Hurons in particular tasted very little meat, and all the Iroquoians, as already mentioned, were agriculturists. The word *sagamite* is of Algonquin origin, and being used by the Iroquoians in speaking the *lingua franca* of Canada was pronounced by them *sagawite*. The Iroquois word was *onnontara*. A large proportion of the Indian words taken into the English language are the names for corn preparations which the early settlers learned from their Algonquin neighbors; such are hominy, samp, suppawn, succotash.

85 The most important step in Iroquois development was taken when they shifted to the agricultural basis of subsistence. A race of mere hunters can never increase greatly in numbers within its territory, still less gather into towns and establish states. Better dwellings, the accumulation of property, monogamy, opportunities for industrial and mental development, all came in the train of the assured food supply. To the Iroquois agriculture brought more marked advantages, for beyond a little help from the men in clearing the ground and at harvest time, the women, who before had been of less importance in the food quest, took the entire burden, leaving the men free for hunting, for councils, and for war. The effect upon the military power of the tribes need not be elaborated.

"Nothing worthy the name of civilization has ever been founded on any other agricultural basis than the cereals. This appears to be largely due to the fact that the seeds of the cereal grasses are, as compared with fruits and roots,

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extremely rich in albumen and albuminoids, the great nourishers of the muscular and nervous systems. Regarded as stimulants to human activity, fruits and roots have a low comparative value. Corn in this regard is nearly equal to the flesh of animals. But the most important reason for the superiority of cereal agriculture as a basis of social advancement only becomes apparent when the nature of its methods is considered. Cereal agriculture, alone among the forms of food-production, taxes, recompenses, and stimulates labour and ingenuity in an equal degree. Populations which depend on arboriculture never learn even the rudiments of the labour-lesson which is the beginning of the education of humanity. Root-cultivating populations learn only the bare rudiments; for roots demand far less labour than is necessary to keep man in anything approaching to continuous employment. It is the peculiar quality of cereal agriculture that by occupying man regularly during a considerable portion of the year it directly tends to render the unit of human labour a constant quantity and to give it new forms of employment. The labour which in the simplest form the culture of cereals involves is in itself of a varied character, and it naturally suggests further transformation of labour, the effect of which is to further develop not only the capacities of the soil, but the industry and ingenuity of the cultivator. When the unit of labour has once been rendered a constant quantity, the material of civilization has been provided."

II. 32 " . . . Thus did nature to some extent compensate America for the want of the great domestic animals by endowing it with a unique cereal, the largest and most productive known, and capable of being profitably cultivated without them." (Payne, I. 353, 356.)

86 The Indians, like ourselves, cultivated several varieties
I. 320 of corn, adapted to different climates and different uses.

Among the Algonquins, and to a less extent among the Hurons, the warriors worked in the corn fields from time to

FOOD QUEST

time, but the Iroquois left the actual planting and cultivation entirely to the women, who had of course some help from the children and the slaves. While corn was the staple, the Iroquois cultivated also melons, water-melons, squashes, pumpkins, beans, tobacco, sunflowers, and perhaps peas and hemp. So far as its raw materials went, the American bill of fare five centuries ago would have been more satisfactory to ourselves than the European diet of the same age.

87 Maple sap fresh drawn was a favorite beverage. It is I. 186, practically certain that Indians made both syrup and II. 27 sugar long before they knew any white men. (Lafitau, III. 140.) The Iroquois earthenware answered excellently for the necessary evaporation. The maple festival is now discontinued by the communities which have no sugar trees.

88 Sullivan's expedition in 1779 destroyed 160,000 I. 191 bushels of corn "with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind," and cut down innumerable apple-trees, 1,500 in one orchard.

89 The fields were sometimes in clearings in the woods I. 306 at a considerable distance from the town.

I. 167 In ten or a dozen years the bark houses of an Iroquois village would be rotten and infested with vermin, the accessible firewood exhausted, and the soil, constantly robbed but never enriched, less generous in yield. A new site would then be selected, a clearing made in the forest, and the town moved, all the inhabitants proceeding to the new location, and taking with them the bones of their dead. This necessity of moving and re-establishing their towns and fields imposed by lack of domestic animals upon a people without metal tools, added enormously to the labor of the food quest, and so restricted population and prevented the increase of wealth.

Morgan apparently did not know much of this usage when he wrote the *League*. As above mentioned (Note 42), it caused frequent changes in the trails and affected in many

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ways the life of the people. It has been attempted to establish the length of residence of a tribe in a given district in a simple but ingenious manner. If the tribe had normally three contemporaneous villages and thirty sites are found, the occupation cannot have much exceeded a century. The character of the relics found also indicates the number of sites abandoned before contact with Europeans. This method of computation must not be relied on too implicitly, for temporary absences may have intervened, villages may have been united or divided, and sites may have been reoccupied, but it furnishes an excellent working hypothesis. Applied to specific cases, it indicates that neither the Hurons nor the Iroquois, (except perhaps the Senecas) were in full force in their historic territories before 1500 or 1550.

90 This hemlock tea is perhaps the beverage which the
I. 321 Iroquois at Quebec prescribed for Cartier's scurvy-stricken men in 1536. They called the tree *Anned*a (Parkman, *Pioneers*, 214). Hemlock is *O-no-da* in Mohawk, *O-neb-da* in Seneca.

91 Squash is an Algonquin word which we took along
II. 34 with the article from the aborigines of New England.

92 The Rev. J. Daste, S. J., in a letter printed in
II. 34 *Wonderland*, 1900, gives this account of the first meeting of the Flatheads with Lewis and Clark, which he obtained from the Indians:

"Then the two leaders, observing that the Indians were using, for smoking, the leaves of some plant, a plant very much alike to our tobacco plant, asked for some and filled their pipes; but as soon as they tried to smoke, they pronounced the *Indian Tobacco* no good. Cutting some of their tobacco they gave it to the Indians, telling them to fill their pipes with it. But it was too much for them who had never tried the American weed, and all began to cough, with great delight to the party. Then the two leaders asked the Indians for some Kinnikinnick, mixed it with the tobacco, and gave again to the Indians the prepared weed to smoke. This time

OUR DEBT TO THE INDIAN

the Indians found it excellent, and in their way thanked the men whom they now believed a friendly party."

93 The indebtedness of civilization to the American
I. 134 Indian has been generally overlooked. Not only
II. 33 was he the explorer and pathfinder of the continent, but he had pretty thoroughly exploited its natural resources. Rather because of the physical characteristics of the country and its lack of domesticable animals than from any lack of intelligent enterprise on their own part, the men of the New World were behind those of the Old World in culture. But hardly anything that they were able to discover had been neglected. They knew and used almost every metal found native, they domesticated the dog and the llama, the only animals capable of domestication, and they had thoroughly appropriated the vegetable riches of the continent. In the four centuries of European dominion in America hardly a single valuable conquest from nature has been added to those gained by the Indian; the extracting from the ore of iron and other non-native metals being of course excepted.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

94 THE Indian's world was a very different one from
I. 160 ours. Events which we consider the effect of natural forces regulated by laws certain though not fully understood, were to him the works of living beings. Thus, if the corn harvest failed, it was the work of demons. Earthquakes were caused by the souls of the dead struggling to get back through the ground, and by making a loud noise these souls might be, and as the event proved were, frightened back and the earthquakes stopped. When the Moon's face was hidden in an eclipse, she was sick or angry and must be helped or appeased. The thunder was a noise made by a great bird, and the lightnings were fiery serpents. The Milky Way was the road of souls, and the Pleiades a party of dancers.

Thus their eyes, like other eyes, saw what they expected to

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see. When it thundered, Hiawatha heard the great bird and Horace heard Jupiter's chariot wheels, but neither is therefore to be considered a foolish or untrustworthy witness. The history contained in many Indian legends can therefore be understood, if we are able to translate the language in which it is recounted.

As a simple illustration of this there is the Iroquois story of the Great Buffalo, and the Algonquin story of the Great Moose with a fifth leg between his shoulders which he used to prepare his bed. Would a twentieth-century man who had never seen or heard of an animal of the elephant species be able to give a much better account of a mammoth the first time he saw it?

Other stories are simple folklore and have their resemblances to those of other peoples. Here is one, much abbreviated:

An Indian, who deeply mourned his lost sister, travelled fasting twelve days towards the setting sun (where the village of souls is), then his sister appearing to him at night and returning each evening gives him a dish of sagamite. For three months he travels, thus sustained, and reaches the village of souls. The souls were having a dance in a cabin to heal Ataentsic, who was sick. Finding his sister's soul, he shuts her in a pumpkin which an old man gives him and takes her home. Making a feast, he prepares to restore his sister's soul to her body, but a curious spectator lifts his eyes contrary to orders and the soul escapes.

Here we have the story of Eurydice, and a suggestion of Peter Pumpkin Eater as well.

The foregoing is the Huron version given by Le Jeune (*Relation* 1656, 10 *J. R.*, 148), and in a note 10 *J. R.*, 324, is said to be of Algonquin origin. But Lafitau, II. 109, gives an almost identical story as an Iroquois legend.

Referring again to the Great Buffalo mentioned in the text, the story may not be very ancient, even if we assume that it referred to the mammoth, for it is not impossible that the mammoth existed in Alaska at a recent date. As for the

NEW YEAR'S FESTIVAL

pygmies, there may be some alive yet, for Thomas La Fort
I. 160 and his companions saw one in 1870. *Die Onondaga-Indianer des Staates New York*, Ch. L. Henning, *Globus*, LXXVI. 199.

The Iroquois legends were recounted on many solemn occasions. After a funeral the evening was given to the recital of legends (Rel. 1656-7, 43 *J. R.*, 287), and when a sachem was raised up they were also in order. In fact, at any meeting or council the myths and tales of the origin of the world and of the League were to be expected as an introduction to the business, and this may have furnished the suggestion for the opening chapters of Mr. Knickerbocker's *History of New York*.

A number of the Iroquois myths are recounted in a valuable article by Erminnie A. Smith, 2 *Bur. Eth.*, 51; see also David Cusick's *History of the Six Nations*, reprinted in Dr. Beauchamp's *Iroquois Trail*.

I. 162 The reason the legends were not related in summer was that at that time the spirits of nature were awake and listening; in winter they hibernated like so many bears.

NEW YEAR'S

95 WITH Mr. Morgan's sympathetic, not to say ideal-
I. 199 ized, account of the New Year's festival it is interesting to compare the reports of observers who took a somewhat Philistine view of the ceremonies. In the *Relation of 1655-6* (42 *J. R.*, 154) is an account of what Fathers Dablon and Chaumonot saw at Onondaga:

"They not only believe in their dreams, but they have a special festival for the Demon of Dreams. This festival might be called the Festival of Fools, or the Carnival of Wicked Christians; for in it the Devil does as it were the same things that are done in the carnival and at the same season. They name this festival Honnonouaroia. The elders go to proclaim it through the streets of the town. We

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witnessed the ceremony on the 22nd of February of this year 1656. As soon as this festival was announced by these public cries, nothing was to be seen but men, women and children running like madmen through the streets and through the cabins, but in quite a different fashion from European masqueraders. Most of them are nearly naked and seem not to feel the cold, which is almost unbearable to those who are the best covered. It is true that some give no other sign of their madness than to run half naked through all the cabins; but others are mischievous; some carry water or something worse and throw it upon those they meet; others take firebrands, coals and ashes and scatter them about without caring on whom they fall. Others break the kettles and dishes and all the houseware that they find in their course. Some go armed with swords, bayonets, knives, hatchets or cudgels, and pretend to strike with those every one they meet, and all this continues until their dream is guessed and fulfilled; as to which there are two things quite remarkable.

"The first is that it sometimes happens that one is not clever enough to divine their thoughts, for they do not state them clearly, but by enigmas, by phrases of hidden meaning, by signs and sometimes by gestures alone; so that good Oedipuses are not always found. Nevertheless they will not leave the spot until their thought is divined, and if one delays too long, if one does not wish to divine it, or if one cannot, they threaten to burn up everything; which comes to pass only too often as we came near experiencing to our cost. One of these idiots darted into our cabin and insisted that we should guess his dream and fulfil it. Now we had declared at the outset that we would not obey these imaginings, yet he persisted for a long time to shout and storm and rave, but in our absence, for we withdrew to a cabin outside the village to avoid these disturbances. One of our hosts, tired of these shouts, came to him to learn what he wanted. The maniac answered, 'I kill a Frenchman, that is my dream which must be fulfilled at any cost.' Our host threw him a French

THE DREAM FEAST

coat, as if it had been taken from a dead man, and at the same time began himself to rage, saying that he wished to avenge the death of the Frenchman, that his destruction should be followed by that of the whole village, which he was going to reduce to ashes, beginning with his own cabin. Thereupon he drove out his relatives and friends and house-people and all the crowd which had gathered to see the issue of this disturbance. Thus left alone, he shut the doors and set the whole place on fire. At the moment when everybody expected to see the whole house in flames Father Chau-
monot came up, returning from an errand of charity. He saw an awful smoke pouring from his bark house and being told what it was he burst in the door, threw himself into the midst of the fire and smoke, threw out the firebrands, put out the fire, and gently prevailed upon his host to leave, contrary to the expectation of all the populace, who never resist the fury of the Demon of Dreams. The man continued in his fury. He ran through the streets and cabins, shouting loudly that he was going to set everything on fire to avenge the death of the Frenchman. They brought him a dog to be the victim of his wrath and of the Demon of his passion. 'That is not enough,' he said, 'to wipe out the shame and the affront which has been done to me in wishing to kill a Frenchman lodging in my house.' A second dog was brought to him, and he was appeased at once and returned home as quietly as if nothing had happened.

"Please observe, in this connection, that as in their wars one who has taken a prisoner often takes only his plunder and not his life, in the same way he who has dreamed of killing some one often contents himself with his clothes without attacking his person. That is the reason that the Frenchman's coat was given to the dreamer.

"Let us continue.

"Our host wished to play his part as well as the others. He dressed himself like a Satyr, covering himself with corn husks from head to foot. He made two women array them-

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selves like real Megaras, their hair flying, their faces black as coal, their bodies covered with two wolf skins, each woman carrying a club or a great stake. The Satyr seeing them well equipped marched through our cabin singing and howling at the top of his voice. Then climbing on the roof, he performed a thousand antics, shouting as if everything had gone to destruction, which done, he descended, marched gravely all around the town, the two Megaras leading on and smashing everything they met with their stakes. If it is true that every man has a grain of folly — since *Stultorum infinitus est numerus* — it must be confessed that these people have more than half an ounce apiece. But there is more to come.

“Scarce had our Satyr and our Megaras disappeared from view when a woman rushed into our cabin. She was armed with an arquebus which she had obtained by her dream. She shouted, howled, sang, saying that she was going off to the war with the Eries, that she would fight them and bring back prisoners, with a thousand imprecations and a thousand maledictions if the thing did not come to pass as she had dreamed. A warrior followed this amazon. He carried his bow and arrows in his hand and a dagger. He dances, he sings, he shouts, he threatens: then suddenly he rushes at a woman who had come in to see this comedy; he levels the dagger at her throat, takes her by the hair, contents himself with cutting off a few locks, and then withdraws to give place to a Diviner who had dreamed that he could find everything that was hidden. He was ridiculously dressed and held in his hand a sort of caduceus which he used to point out the place where a thing was hidden. Nevertheless his companion who carried a pot filled with some liquor or other had to fill his mouth with it and blow it over the head and over the face, over the hands and over the caduceus of the Diviner, who then never failed to find the article in question. That is all I can tell.

“A woman came next with a mat which she spread out and arranged as if she wished to catch some fish.

THE DREAM FEAST

This meant that we must give her some because she had dreamed it.

"Another simply laid a mattock on the ground. They divined that she wanted a field or a piece of ground. That was just what she had in mind, and she was satisfied with five furrows for planting Indian corn.

"After that they put before us a little grotesque puppet. We declined it and it was placed before other persons, and after they had mumbled some words they carried it off without further ceremony.

"One of the chiefs of the town appeared in wretched attire. He was all covered with ashes, and because no one guessed his dream, which called for two human hearts, he caused the ceremony to be prolonged by a day, and continued his mad actions during all the time. He entered our cabin, where there are several fireplaces, stopped at the first, threw ashes and coals into the air, and at the second and third fires did the same, but did nothing at ours, out of respect.

"Some came fully armed and as if they were in combat with the enemy, posturing, shouting and scuffling like two armies in battle.

"Others march in bands, and perform dances with contortions of the body like men possessed. In short, one would never be done if he undertook to relate everything they do during the three days and three nights that this madness lasts, with such a racket that one cannot find a moment of quiet. Yet this did not prevent us from conducting the regular prayers in our chapel, nor God from making evident his love for these poor people by some miraculous cures granted by virtue of holy baptism, of which we will not speak here. Let us finish the account we have begun of the obedience which they give to their imaginings.

"It would be a cruelty and a sort of murder not to give a man what his dream called for, for the refusal might cause his death. Therefore they may see themselves stripped of their all without any hope of recompense. For whatever they give

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is never returned to them, unless they dream it themselves, or pretend to dream it. In general they are too scrupulous to make such a pretence, which would, as they suppose, cause all sorts of misfortunes. Yet those are found who disregard their scruples and enrich themselves by a clever fiction.

“The Satyr, of whom we have spoken, seeing that a great deal was taken from his cabin on our account because great and small dreamed of the French and we would not listen to them, while he because he liked us satisfied them, yet at length wishing to repay himself, put on the attire we have described, and counterfeited not only the Satyr, but also the phantom which he pretended had appeared to him by night and had commanded him to get together forty beaver skins. This he did in this way. He set himself to shout through the streets that he was no more a man but had become a brute beast. Thereupon the elders held a council for the restoration of one of their chiefs to his natural form. This was accomplished as soon as he had received what he desired and pretended to have dreamed of.

“A poor woman was not so fortunate in her dream. She ran about day and night and got only an illness. They tried to cure her with the ordinary remedies of the country, which are emetics of certain roots steeped in water, but they made her drink so much that she died immediately, her stomach bursting to give passage to two kettles of water which they had made her take.

“A young man of our cabin got off with being well powdered. He dreamed that he was buried in ashes. When he woke he wished his dream to come true, so he invited ten of his friends to a feast to fulfil his dream. They acquitted themselves excellently of this commission, covering him with ashes from head to foot and stuffing them into his nose and into his ears and everywhere. We were disgusted with such a ridiculous ceremony, but every one else regarded it in silent admiration as a grand mystery. Do not these poor people deserve compassion?”

THE WHITE DOG

Several incomplete accounts of recent ceremonies are found in the testimony annexed to *Report on Indian Problem*, I. 419, 425, 448 :

“ There was a great deal of dancing and marching about and eating of all sorts of meat ; the white dog burning I had supposed was a sort of relic of their idea of sacrifice, but I think it is a relic of the way they did things, God only knows when and where, and they keep it up and it don't amount to anything, only they will keep burning the dog, because somebody don't like it. They use a white dog, and take a great deal of pains in having a puppy ; and if there are any black hairs in it, they pluck the hairs out ; and they are somewhat humane for a people so barbarous, they kill him before they burn him ; they strangle him. They wear the breech clout ; I think they do not eat the dog.”

“ I think last winter they did n't burn the white dog ; they marched from the council-house to the adjoining house and fixed up something with ribbons and tobacco and burned that instead of the white dog.”

“ The people gather at the council-house in the morning ; two men are delegated to strangle the white dog, as near white as they can get it ; and the people gather in the meantime ; and they come to the council-house with this dog across the shoulders of one of the men ; sometimes the dog is dead and sometimes he is still alive ; he comes in without saying anything at all, the dog across his shoulder, and waits for his instructions as to what further he shall do ; he is finally told where he is to go, and there he is to prepare the dog for burning. The dog is striped up with different colored paints, and in different colored ribbons, and brought back to the council-house ; another Indian will carry the basket with tobacco and beans and one thing and another ; in the centre of the council-house they build up a platform with wood, lay a board on that, and the dog is laid down on the board ; the baskets of tobacco, beads, and so on set beside him ; all the while this is going on — there are two divisions of that tribe, one is called the Wolf

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Tribe and the other the Bear Tribe — and they have two council-houses; they separate, one gathering at the small council-house and holding services there, and the other at the large council-house at the same time; every little while a message will be sent from one council-house to the other, and they will go on with the services; these services are going on continually while the white dog is being prepared for burning; after everything is all ready, they have one man who is appointed master of ceremonies, and he comes in and begins to walk around the platform where the dog is lying; the chief will sit on a bench close by; he comes around and stops; and one man steps up and whispers to him; he walks around with a sort of a chant, and comes around again and another one speaks to him; as I understand that they are sending through this man their wishes or confessing their sins to him, and he puts them into the dog and they are burned with the dog; after that had gone for some time, then he shoulders the dog and marches out of the council-house and around it, I think it is three times, then over to the other council-house, and there go through the same performance, march around that, out of it and to the place of burning; that is about the sum and substance of the burning of the white dog; they have ceremonies, I don't know what they say. The body of the dog is burned. I never heard of it being eaten. There is no obscenity in connection with the burning. Anybody that wishes to is admitted to the ceremony. The women all attend the burning of the dog. Their dances following the burning of the white dog are very obscene."

Other testimony was given (p. 506) which might indicate that this festival was in honor of the returning sun and to celebrate the reproductive powers of nature. While we take at Easter the egg and the rabbit as symbols of life and fecundity, the Iroquois symbolism passes from the pictorial stage to the dramatic. For details the reader is referred to the testimony itself.

- I. 199 The date of the New Year's feast was approximately determined by the moon, but the exact date was fixed

DOG SACRIFICES

by each village for itself. According to the best information received, it must not be earlier than the second new moon after the winter solstice. At this time in the Iroquois country the days of greatest cold are to be expected, and the feast no doubt assists the return of the sun. While Father Dablon describes the Onondaga New Year's feast in 1656, and Mr. Morgan the Seneca feast of two centuries later, the descriptions are almost interchangeable. In each we have the appointment of the feast, the corn-husk and bear-skin dresses,

I. 200 the clubs carried by the keepers of the faith, the stirring of the fire (perhaps a relic or symbol of a custom to make new fire for the New Year), and the dream feast.

96 Whether the white dog was anciently sacrificed is I. 201 not so clear. Dablon mentions the killing of the two dogs, and as he was outside of the village he may not have seen all the circumstances of their execution.

Dr. Beauchamp says (*Iroq. Trail*, 85): "In its essential feature of sacrifice the white dog feast seems quite modern, but in point of time it corresponds with the old Dream Feast, taking its place and retaining some of its features."

Nevertheless there is much evidence that the dog sacrifice was anciently celebrated among the Iroquois, though probably not as a part of the New Year's celebration.

In the *Relation of 1642* (23 *J. R.*, 52) is an account of the Huron New Year's festival called Ononhouaroia. It is said to be in honor of all the Demons, and the resemblance to our Halloween pranks is suggested. The Dream Feast is described, but no dogs are mentioned. Lafitau also describes the Dream Feast without mention of dog sacrifice. A few instances of dog sacrifices among the Hurons and the Iroquois may be cited.

Le Jeune, *Relation of 1636* (13 *J. R.*, 30) tells of a dog burnt alive for the cure of a sick woman. The burning alive is of interest, as showing that there was no bloodshed.

I. 143 In the *Relation of 1642* (23 *J. R.*, 158) we are told that the Hurons burned bears, deer, and dogs in honor

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of the devil. This is the same personage that other writers have called the Great Spirit.

In the *Relation of 1642* (23 *J. R.*, 172) we have a detailed description quite like the one above quoted from *Report on Indian Problem*. As this was a Huron sacrifice, not an Iroquois, the resemblance is very interesting. A warrior had dreamed that he had been made captive and burned by the Iroquois, and a semblance of captivity and torture was therefore performed upon him. "Finally they opened a way out in order that he might escape from captivity. As he went out he seized a dog which was held there all prepared for him, put it at once upon his shoulders, and carried it among the cabins as a consecrated victim of which he made a public offering to the Demon of War, praying him to accept this semblance in place of the reality of his dream. And that the sacrifice might be fully consummated the dog was killed with a club, and then was scorched and roasted in the flames, and after all this was eaten at a public feast in the same manner as they are accustomed to eat their captives."

Le Jeune, *Relation of 1638* (Hurons): "Many of these feasts are like real sacrifices, especially one where a dog is killed and eaten, particularly on certain occasions, with such rites and ceremonies that one can hardly come to any other conclusion."

Rel. 1672-3 (57 *J. R.*, 146): "To Agriskoue they commonly sacrifice dogs, of which they make a feast for the sick."

Rel. 1676-7 (60 *J. R.*, 218): "I was much grieved to see a great dog hanging at the top of a painted pole as a sacrifice to the sun." (This was among the Algonquin people of the Lakes.)

Marest to Germon (66 *J. R.*, 240): "There being a pestilence [among the Wabash Illinois in 1712 or thereabouts], they sacrificed as many as forty dogs which they carried on the tops of poles, themselves singing, dancing, and cutting a thousand extravagant capers."

GAMBLING

In the Journals of Sullivan's army dog sacrifices are several times mentioned. "In this town a dog was hung up, with a string of wampum round his neck, on a tree, curiously decorated and trimmed. On inquiry I was informed that it was a custom among the savages before they went to war to offer this as a sacrifice to Mars, the God of War, and praying that he might strengthen them. In return for these favours they promise to present him with the skin for a tobacco pouch." (*Lieut.-Col. Hubley's Journal*, September 10, 1779.)

There is in the *Jesuit Relations* no distinct reference to white dogs, though it is stated that dogs for feasts and sacrifices must be of a certain shape and color.

Parkman says directly (*Jesuits*, lxxxv) that the white dog was sacrificed on an upright pole by many tribes.

It is extraordinary that Lafitau refers to the dog sacrifice only casually as an Algonquin custom.

GAMES OF CHANCE

97 THE Iroquois were great gamblers. This, indeed, as I. 237 well as the approval which it received from their religious teachers, is well set forth in the text. It will be noticed that while Johnson, the prophet of the new religion, condemned the use of cards as a great sin (I. 237), he commended the peach-stone game and enjoined its observance (I. 233). This was, of course, because it was part of their religious system and was used for the cure of disease.

It appears by the *Relation of 1669-70* that Father Pierron recognized that the Iroquois gambling games were interwoven with their religion, and to counterbalance them invented both religious and secular games of his own.

98 The Peach Stone and Deer Button games are obviously variants of the same form of gaming. In the I. 233, 282, 290, former, wild plum stones were used before peaches were known, and these were marked on one side with a hot stone. (Charlevoix.) A full account of these

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and other variants of the Dice Game is given in the article on "Chess and Playing Cards" by Mr. Stuart Cullin (*S. R. N. M.*, 1896, p. 665) with numerous quotations from early writers. The text is also here quoted at length.

In addition to Mr. Cullin's citations the following may be of interest :

Le Jeune says (*Relation 1636*, 10 *J. R.*, 186), describing the Huron Game :

"The game of dish is also in great credit in affairs of medicine, particularly if the sick man has had a dream of it. It is purely a game of chance. They put six plum stones, white on one side and black on the other, in a dish which they strike quite violently on the ground so that the stones bounce and turn up sometimes one side, sometimes the other. The game is to throw all white or all black; they usually play village against village. They all gather in a cabin, and range themselves on poles arranged under the roof on both sides. They bring in the sick man in his blanket, and he of the village who is to shake the dish (for only one of each side is appointed for that purpose) walks after, with his head and face

I. 282 enveloped in his robe. They bet heavily and boldly on both sides. When he of the other side holds the dish, they cry with all their voice, *achinc, achinc, achinc*, three, three, three, or perhaps *ioio, ioio, ioio*, praying that he may throw only three white or three black. You might have seen this winter a goodly troop returning hence to their villages having lost their moccasins in a season when there was nearly three feet of snow, but yet as cheerful to all appearance as if they had won. The most remarkable thing that I found in this is the frame of mind in which they come to it. Some fast several days before playing; the evening before, they meet in a cabin and hold a feast to discover what will be the result of the game. He who is chosen to hold the dish takes the stones and puts them just as they come into a dish and covers it so that no one may put his hand into it. That done, they sing; after the song the

DICE GAMES

dish is uncovered and the stones are found either all white or all black. As to this I asked an Indian if those against whom they were going to play did not do the same on their side, and if they might not find the stones in the same state. 'Oh yes,' he said. 'And yet,' I told him, 'all cannot win,' to which he knew not how to answer. He informed me of two other remarkable things: first, that they choose to shake the dish some one who had dreamed that he would win or who had a charm; moreover those who have charms, whatever they may be, do not conceal them but carry them everywhere. We have one of them, they say, in our village who rubs the stones with a certain unguent and hardly ever fails to win. Secondly, that when they make the test some of the stones disappear and again are found some time after in the dish with the others."

The Huron dish, like the Iroquois, was of wood (*Relation* 1639, 17 *J. R.*, 200.) The western tribes used woven baskets for their plum stone game, and sometimes marked designs on the stones, thus giving more variety to the game.

This favorite entertainment was perhaps the most absorbing of the Indians' pursuits. Loskiel (p. 137) tells of an Iroquois game that lasted a week. It is related (*Relation* 1639, 16 *J. R.*, 200) that the extravagance of the Hurons in betting went even to the staking of their fingers to be cut off by the winner, as the Chinese do to this day.

The women gambled as well as the men, and had a special form of the game where no dish was used, but the stones were thrown in the air with the hand, to fall on a skin stretched on the ground.

Lafitau's account of the Iroquois game is copied for comparison with Morgan's:

"The favorite game of chance among the Indians is a game of fruit stones or of little bones made of the kneepan of the moose's hind legs, and of other rounded bones of any animal. They are about twice the size of cherry stones and made uniformly oval or elliptic. Although six faces can be distinguished,

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there are really but two, larger than the others and slightly flattened, losing a little of their curve, on which sides the stone rests more naturally. One of these faces is colored black and the other of a yellowish white. The number is not fixed, the players use more or less as they agree. Still they never take more than eight, and the usual number is six. They throw these stones into a bell-mouthed wooden dish smooth and well rounded both outside and in. This dish has almost the shape of a mess platter such as is used on ships. They shake the stones a long time in the dish, and after having thus shaken them they place the dish on the mat, striking the ground with the dish to make the stones jump. At the same time they give it an impulse which makes it rotate a long time, and they still further assist the movement that the stones receive in the dish so shaken, by a little breeze that they make with the hand to make the stones turn or fall in the way they wish.

Although only two sides of the stones are marked, one white and the other black, there are, nevertheless, a multitude of possible combinations, thus making the game long and interesting.

"It is one of the greatest pleasures in the world to see them play; they are so eager and animated. Although there are but two who hold the dish for the opposing sides, it might be said that all of them are playing at once, for the two but give the signal and all the others follow their movements as if they all had a hand in the work. While one of the players is shaking the dish, all who bet with him shout with one voice, repeating incessantly the wish they make for the fall and color of the stones; while all those on the other side shout their demands for the opposite result. They utter their words with a surprising quickness and volubility and often they merely clip them off; meanwhile some of them beat their breasts, giving themselves fearful blows and exercising so actively that,

GAME OF STRAWS

although they are half naked, they are at once all in a sweat, as if they had played a violent game of tennis." (Lafitau, IV. 58.) He says also that half the village usually played against the other half.

The superior quality of Lafitau and Morgan as observers, will be seen by comparing the various descriptions of the game given in Mr. Cullin's article above cited.

The Iroquois had another gambling game of mingled chance and skill, called the Game of Straws. (Lafitau, IV. 69.) The Hurons also had this game. (Relation 1638, 15 J. R., 78.) The game was difficult, and if any European observer learned or understood it he has not succeeded in imparting his knowledge.

MARRIAGE

99 In *Ancient Society* Morgan has traced the evolution of
I. 313 marriage through its successive stages. In following his classifications given below, it will be seen that the process is one of elimination, the size of the marriage group being continually reduced.

Consanguine Marriage (Latin Term). In this form of family group, now, happily, extinct, each man of the tribe was nominally the brother and husband of each woman of his own generation. This means simply that they might lawfully live together, and dissolve their union at any time to form another of the same sort. The only relationships named or recognized were, therefore, grandparent, parent, brother, sister, child, and grandchild.

I. 82 *Punaluan Marriage* (Hawaiian Term). Now the group becomes more restricted. Each man is the husband of each woman of his own group, such a group usually consisting of several brothers and their wives or of several sisters and their husbands. The nominal relationships of the Iroquois were Punaluan as elsewhere explained, but actually they had passed to the next stage.

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Syndyasmian Marriage (Greek Term). This was the condition of the Iroquois and of most of the tribes of North America at the time of the discovery. It formed a transition stage between the Punaluan and Monogamian families, and to the outward observer was a pairing dissoluble at the will of either party, and even when not dissolved importing no very rigid conjugal fidelity. If Morgan's views, as to the history of marriage, are correct, this infidelity was not properly so called, but was merely a survival of the Punaluan form of marriage. In the Syndyasmian stage, then, each man had one chief wife and each woman one chief husband, but each was still espoused to the entire group. Some early observers report this state of affairs as simple licentiousness, others as polygamy or polyandry.

The reminiscence of group marriage, no doubt, had its share in the interest and control of the clan in the marriage of its members. When a girl took a husband, it was admitting a new member to the marriage group.

From Syndyasmian marriage the road branches, the settled agricultural peoples moving usually towards monogamy, the wandering tribes towards the patriarchal state and its concomitant polygamy. Marriage, to the modern mind, connotes one of these forms. It was once commonly supposed that polygamy was the earlier form, but the researches of Morgan and others would mark it as simply a late offshoot from the main stem which ends in Monogamy.

I. 325 *Monogamian Marriage*. This state, needing no definition, had been more nearly attained by the Iroquois than by any of their neighbors. Occasionally a self-made chief like Garakontie or Sir William Johnson, set up a family approaching the patriarchal type, but the general tendency of the people was towards monogamy. Polygamy never became lawful.

I. 241 The injunction of Johnson against intermarriage with whites has not been effective, and the New York Iroquois show to the most superficial observer their strong infusion of white blood. The case of white women married to

STATUTORY DIVORCE

Indians and of their offspring is a particularly hard one, for after the death of the husband and father the widow and children have no rights in his property, or even to remain on the reservation. (See note 103.)

100 Divorce continues to be unrestrained in practice,
I. 228, though an effort at legal formalities is made. The
315 following papers in divorce actions show precisely the extent to which legislation in advance of public opinion is effective. (*Report on Indian Problem*, II. 1128-29.)

TOWN OF CARROLLTON, CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, N. Y.,
December 14, 1887.

TO THE PEACEMAKERS' COURT OF THE SENECA NATION OF NEW YORK
INDIANS UPON THE ALLEGANY RESERVATION :

This is to certify that I have consented and agreed to grant a bill of divorce to George Gordon, and live separate and apart from each other during our natural life. And I consent and hereby pray to the said peacemakers' court to grant a bill of divorcement without delay.

her
LUCY x GORDON.
mark

Witnesses :

ALFRED JIMESON,
M. F. TRIPPE.

PEACEMAKERS' COURT.

Held at the residence of David B. Jameson on the 15th day of December, 1887.

After hearing and reading the petition of Lucy Gordon, the court ordered to grant a bill of divorce George Gordon.

(Signed) DAVID JIMESON, JR.,
JOHN LAMPSON,

*Peacemakers for the Seneca Nation of New York Indians
upon the Allegany Reservation, N. Y.*

Separate Certificate.

JIMESONTOWN, CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, N. Y.,
June 1, 1886.

On the first day of June before us personally came David Jameson, Jr., husband of Amanda, described in the within conveyance; the said David Jameson, being and known to us to be the individual de-

CLAN PROPERTY

property of all kinds, even including slaves, and usually it owned a council house.

Expenses of war (but a comparatively small portion of these), of public gifts, and of the entertainment of ambassadors were among the charges which fell upon the public treasury.

The League had likewise its treasury and its archives.

Everything else belonged to the clan or to the house, between which, as often, it is not easy to discriminate in all details. The house owned the communal dwelling, the chattels of general use that it contained, and all that might be brought into it as trophies of war or the chase or the product of agriculture. In brief, the product of the labor of a member of the house belonged to the house; and as a curious illustration of this a newly discovered cure for disease was the property of the house.

The clan owned the lives of its members; these lives I. 322 it might itself take, or if any one else took them the right to compensation belonged to the clan. As a member of the clan or household an individual had the right to a place in the dwelling, to a share in its food supply, and to the exclusive possession of a field. When he died or emigrated the clan was his heir, or, more accurately, his administrator. All property which by law he might not take with him, he might distribute before his departure; but if he failed to do so it was distributed by the clan, usually to his nearest relatives. If an apartment or a planting lot were abandoned, it reverted to the general stock, and might with the approval of the clan or house be occupied by another.

By the use of the pronoun "he" it is by no means intended to exclude the female. A woman might have her individual property, her ornaments, or her field, but for obvious reasons the man, who was a stranger and sojourner in the dwelling where he abode, would accumulate more separate estate than the woman who was of it.

The distinction of rich and poor was known among the Iroquois, as applying both to the individual and to the house.

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Even in the same clan one house might be wealthy and the other poor. Property might be transferred by gift or purchase, by gambling, as a hire of labor, but rather as a fee than a wage, or in payment of damages for a tort.

The common right in food and other chattels tended naturally to waste and poverty, for no one had the right to reserve that which another might wish to use. This, rather than improvidence properly so called, was the reason why in the Indian household it was commonly either a feast or a famine.

With the increase of trade and other changed conditions of life which ensued upon the coming of the whites, the desire for private property and the extent of it increased, as came to pass at an earlier date among our own ancestors.

In the early Iroquois institutions, however, Mr. George and Mr. Bellamy would have found much to delight them.

¹⁰² The following from *Indian Problem*, I. 818, being the
I. 245 answer of the defendant in an action of trespass, illustrates the enforcement of the ancient law by modern methods :

IN PEACEMAKER'S COURT, CATTARAUGUS RESERVATION,
May 21, 1888.

I reply to the complaint of Elijah Jameson and deny the complaint in full, for the following reasons, to wit : That ten days after the death of my mother, wife of the complainant, the feast was held at the house of the said complainant, and proclamation was then and there declared, that all the property now belonged to my father, Elijah Jameson, my brother — Jameson, and myself, and under this proclamation I claim my rights entitled to the premises and not as a trespasser.

A. SIM LOGAN,
Attorney.

JESSE JIMESON.

¹⁰³ This extract from the testimony of a Seneca before the Legislative Committee (*Indian Problem*, I. 791) contains an excellent outline of an important transition period in the history of human society :

I. 80 “ I desire to tell you a little history about the injustice of our old ancient customs ; you will see by my little

INHERITANCE

history that I want to relate to you what injustice there was in our old ancient customs of our tribal relations; I shall have to commence some ways back in order to have you understand it, then I will show you this law, why they passed this law; you will see for yourself the injustice of going by our old ancient form of government and customs; this custom had been in existence ever since the formation of the confederacy of the Five Nations of New York Indians; that was the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and the Senecas; that is the old confederacy when it was first formed, that is about two hundred and fifty years ago; well, now it had been in existence ever since; in that confederacy it was established that there should be eight clans in each nation; I don't know as I can really tell you only a few; the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, Deer clan, Hawk, Snipe clan, and the Beaver clan, the Turtle clan, and the Eagle clan; there is the eight clans which existed in the Five Nations, they should all exist; it was established that there should be eight clans in each nation; so when you go to make a visit among these Seneca Indians, go to visit with the Onondagas, they will inform him where his clan lives; he will go there and visit them, and they will take him in as their own relation, for all they are of a different nation; that was a treaty of peace that was entered into at the time the confederacy was formed; well, now, when a Seneca Indian say I belong to the Wolf clan, well, now, I can not marry in the same clan because it is my own relation and I have got to marry a woman of some other clan, Turtle, Deer, Bear, or some other clan; well, now we raise children; well, now, we go by the mother's side of the old custom; the mother's side carries the day—she rules; my children are not related to me; the children are related to the mother, because it goes on the mother's side; they are her children, and the children are of the same clan with the mother; I am the Wolf clan and she probably is Bear clan, and the children are the Bear clan; so, it is not his relation, only his children; when I come to die, if I have got some kind of property, if I

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have any property at all, my relations come forward and discuss the question of my property ; my own relation, this Wolf clan, Wolf tribe, comes forward and settles the question about my property ; sometimes they will give it among themselves, divide among themselves what little I had ; they did not

I. 131 have much in those days, you know, until lately ; not over forty or fifty years ago that we began to accumulate property ; in olden times they were poorer than they are now-a-days ; and sometimes they would not give the children anything, because they were not my relations ; they would go penniless ; my children was the Bear clan and I am the Wolf clan, and my relations comes forward and takes my property and disposes of it just as they please ; that was the custom those days ; when this republican form of government was handed down to us from the State we saw injustice in that old custom ; we found out it was not right ; a man that had a family was working for his children and what property he had, why it is his desire they shall be benefited by it and nobody else ; so, they have abolished that law and adopted another ; now, you see what my aim is ; you can see the injustice of going by that old custom ; they abolished that law in the council, by the authority of the State of New York ; they had a right to make this law ; they had a right to make all laws not inconsistent with the Constitution of the State of New York or the Constitution of the United States and all internal regulations and their by-laws ; they had a right to make and they made them ; this was in 1854 ; now, then to-day we are not governed by the mother's side ; that is abolished, this old custom ; now we are governed by the men's side ; the men now rules the day.

“ This is not a statute of the State of New York ; this is the Indian law, under the authority of the State ; well, now, as I was telling you about this history of our old, ancient customs about the death of an Indian, how they disposed of his property, and not give it to his children ; this council thought there was injustice in it, so they went to work and annulled that ;

LAST WILLS

they did n't really annul it, only to make another one to put in the place of that; and here, it says: Section 19. 'The last will and testament made by any deceased person, shall be valid when made under the following circumstances: Provided, the testator, at the time of making his last will and testament was of sound mind; that he had made provision in the same for all of his children, if he had any at the time of his death, except those that may not have been members of the family at the time of the death of the testator, and that they had received the value of five dollars at the time of separation or since; and, if the testator had no children or issue prior to his death, or shall have a child born of his wife within nine months after his death, the will shall be null and void, if no provision is made therein for such child; the child which is born shall inherit the whole estate; if the testator has no issue, he must always will a sum of not less than one dollar to each of his parents and brothers and sisters; but if the testator desires to will the whole of his estate to his parent or parents, such will shall always be valid, notwithstanding he may not have devised anything to his brothers or sisters.'"

CAPTIVES

104 THE statements in the text, while of course not made
I. 331, on personal observation, are, in the main, correct.

335 The reason prisoners were not exchanged was that after they had been adopted they were Iroquois, and to surrender them would be to give up an Iroquois to a strange nation. Individuals who had not been adopted might be and often were given up, or rescued by their countrymen. An adopted prisoner was usually taken in place of some member of a household who had recently died, and might be tortured and burnt, or saved alive, at the discretion of the house which owned him. From this point of view it was better to be adopted in place of one who had died by disease or accident than in place of one killed in battle. The adopted citizens

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were for a long time subject to suspicion and in danger of their lives; any untoward event, physical disability of the captive, or the mere caprice of their owners being enough to order them out to be burnt. Most of these were treated as slaves, but their position, particularly if of Iroquoian stock, would gradually improve, and in the second generation no difference would remain between slaves and masters. An interesting and fortunate case of adoption is that of the Jesuit Milet taken prisoner by the Onondagas in 1689. He had previously been among the Oneidas as a missionary, and was given to them, they being represented in the war party. For some weeks he remained in the town, well treated but his fate undetermined. Then a council was held to decide the cases of Milet and three other Frenchmen. Two of the others were burned, but Milet was claimed by both the Bear and Tortoise clans, who finally turned him over to the Wolf clan in which he had friends. "Through the influence of the chief women," says Milet, "they showed me the friendliness of giving me in the place of a sachem who had died long before of disease, rather than of one killed in the attack on the French." This sachem was Hodashateh, the first Sachem of the Oneidas, and Milet, accordingly, succeeded to the Sachemship and was soon in good standing as a member of the council. (Letter of Milet, 64 *J. R.*, 90, 100.)

It was the policy of the Iroquois to incorporate the nations, especially those of their own stock, which they conquered; and the modern Iroquois are descended from Hurons, Eries, Neutrals, and Conestogas as well as from the Six Nations. By this policy their losses in war were in a large measure made good.

An adopted captive retaken, even in arms, by his original countrymen would usually be spared, for he was only doing his duty as a citizen of his new tribe. Those who had voluntarily expatriated themselves were less likely to receive mercy.

Several instances are related of Hurons who transferred their allegiance to an extent that seems particularly atrocious.

ADOPTED CAPTIVES

These men, desiring to commend themselves to their new comrades, used their knowledge of the haunts and trails of the Hurons to compass their destruction. In Captain Church's exploits at the end of King Philip's war, we have instances of Indian captives immediately joining the English against their own kindred. Perhaps a relic of this institution of adoption may be found in some of the games of boys of our own race, where a captive immediately joins his captors in catching those of his original side.

To us slavery is a relic of barbarism, yet for the Onondagas it was a step forward when they perceived the wisdom of sparing captives that they might have slaves to work their fields. (Rel. 1676, 60 *J. R.*, 184.) This is truly an instance where time makes ancient good uncouth.

IMPLEMENTS AND FABRICS

105 As has been well said, Morgan's "record of later
II. 4 Seneca life is priceless." (Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Occupation*.) His collections and descriptions of the articles he found them using and wearing are both reliable and valuable. It is usually Seneca arts and fabrics, as well as Seneca rites and customs, that are described in the text; but, this specialization being kept in mind, Morgan's work becomes thereby all the more important and serviceable.

The articles of the stone age he knew only by hearsay, and therefore errs in speaking of some and omits others altogether. Fortunately it was the enduring stone, bone, and earthenware objects that had gone out of fashion, while the perishable wood and bark utensils and the articles of clothing and ornaments were still to be seen in daily use.

106 For an account of the obsolete articles see Abbott,
II. 4 *Primitive Industry* (relating chiefly to the Algonquins of New Jersey), and the series of Bulletins on New York articles prepared by Dr. Beauchamp for the N. Y. State Museum.

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The wooden handles of the stone tools have disappeared as completely as the arts of making and using the tools, so that, however numerous stone relics may be found, they give us but an X-ray picture of the age of which they are relics.

107 Of the Indian relics found in collections only a small
I. 168 percentage come from graves. Village and camp sites furnish most of the finds. Unfortunately it is only in ploughed fields and on the banks of lakes and rivers that articles are readily discovered, and in such locations they are usually scattered or broken. It remains true, therefore, that excepting the very rare cases of cave finds, the graves and mounds give the best opportunity for finding relics uninjured and in the positions in which they were placed by the aborigines.

It should also be suggested that an abundance of flint implements does not often indicate a battle, the simple explanation which at one period was usually assigned in such cases.

108 The Iroquois women made great quantities of pottery
II. 6, 9 from clay and pounded rock. Some of it crumbled, as stated in the text, but much is durable. The rim and adjacent parts were ornamented with lines and dots, the lines being almost invariably straight. Impressions of finger-nails, corncobs, etc., were also used for decoration, and in later times applied human faces and figures. The manufacture seems to have been continually carried on, and at hunting and fishing stations as well as at permanent towns. "The inside is commonly black, and the outside of the proper hue of baked clay, varying much, according to the material." (Beauchamp, *Earthenware of the N. Y. Aborigines*.) In thickness this ware varied from a twelfth to a quarter of an inch. The vessel shown in the cut on page 9 of Vol. II. has a flat bottom, but this is probably an error of the artist, as the rounded bottom was universal. The cut was not prepared for Morgan, but taken by him from another work. The rounded vessel could have been set in the ashes, but in

POTTERY—GROOVED AXE

ordinary situations would have required support to hold it upright. In Central America such vessels are still in use and are set in circular withes twisted of small branches. In the Swiss Lake dwellings clay rings were employed for the purpose. These vessels were not washed or cleaned for fear of wasting the contents (Lafitau, III. 83) and pottery fragments are frequently found incrustated with the food of former centuries. The art of making pottery is an important milestone on the road from savagery to civilization. Morgan adopted it as the boundary between savagery and barbarism. (*Ancient Society*, 13. Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I. 25, 48.) It implies permanent habitations, agriculture and progress in the arts, and assists in improving the food supply, both in quality and quantity, and in developing the artistic sense. In North America the line separating the agricultural from the non-agricultural tribes may approximately serve as the boundary of pottery manufacture, and this line runs through linguistic stocks as well as between them. The agricultural Algonquins made pottery, the other Algonquins did not. In this art, as in others, the Iroquois surpassed their neighbors. (Compare the Algonquin specimens figured in Abbott's *Primitive Industry*, with the Iroquois handiwork in Beauchamp's *Earthenware of New York Aborigines*.)

109 The usual corn-mortar was of wood. See II. 29.

II. 10 The grooved axe, as the implement figured (II. 11)

110 under the name of "stone tomahawk" is commonly called, is found generally in North America and is abundant in Algonquin territory. (*Bur. Eth.*, 1891-92, 62.) Dr. C. C. Abbott tells (*Primitive Industry*, 33) of a cache of one hundred and twenty found at Trenton, N. J. The grooved axe was an excellent implement for its purpose, and it has been supposed that it served as the model for that wonderful instrument the American steel axe, the superiority of which to the wedge on a pole called an axe in Europe needs no demonstration. The European axe may very likely be a descendant of the bronze axe which Europeans used in

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earlier times. So typical an American implement is the grooved axe that it has been selected as the trademark of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, as is seen on the back of the Bureau's Annual Reports. In some specimens a double groove is found. The groove, whether single or double, was evidently designed as a means of firmly attaching the blade to the helve. (*S. R.*, 1879, p. 222.)

The European stone axes are drilled for the handle, but the grooved type alone is known in America. These articles were often finely shaped and highly polished. Lafitau describes this as a tedious and difficult process (III. 100), and there is evidence that these axes were used as soon as they had been roughed out to the necessary shape and were gradually perfected according to the owner's industry and desires. Dr. Abbott says (*Primitive Industry*, 11) that grooved axes were seldom, and the larger ones never, found in graves, which fact would indicate that this was rather a tool than a weapon.

Mr. Morgan is apparently in error in mentioning this as an Iroquois weapon or implement. In fact, the absence of the grooved axe from Iroquois sites is as typical as the absence of the labials from their language. If they made them at all, it was very rarely, and the few specimens found in Iroquois territory may well have been taken or bought from the Algonquins. The Iroquois used the plain hatchet or celt, and this was sometimes notched as an aid to fastening it, but never grooved. I have found numbers of grooved axes in New Jersey, but have never seen one in the Iroquois portion of New York. (See also Beauchamp, *Polished Stone Articles of N. Y. Aborigines*, 82.)

II. 11 The grooved stone club head in use among some Indian tribes is rarely if ever found on Iroquois sites.

III This needle was universally used by all the Eastern

II. 12 Indians. (Kellogg, *Good Old Times*, 94.) The next time the reader shoots a deer let him ask his guide for a toothpick, and a specimen of this needle will be forthcoming.

CORNPLANTER'S TOMAHAWK

112 "The tomahawk which is so much talked of, is
II. 16 seldom used but to smook thro, or to cut wood with," writes Col. Guy Johnson to Lord Geo. Germain, March 12, 1778, justifying the employment of Indians against the Colonists.

I. 206 "The successor whom Cornplanter selected was
II. 16 O-ya-wah-teh (Small Berry) known under the English name of Canada. Upon the death of Canada his effects were distributed according to the Indian custom, and his widow retained the tomahawk as a family relic. She kept it until obtained from her by me. At the time I purchased it, she informed me that the wampum which was sent with the tomahawk by Cornplanter had all been used for other purposes, and no part of it could then be had. The tomahawk, when received from Cornplanter, had in it a different handle from the present. She described it, as being of better workmanship, with numerous silver ornaments upon each side. Upon the inside was engraved the name Gy-ant-wa-ka; and upon the reverse the name of John Andrus, who was doubtless the manufacturer.

"Although Cornplanter designated his successor who was actually installed, and acted as a chief, Cornplanter was never in fact deposed. He ever had the privilege of sitting with the chiefs in council, and had a voice in their deliberations.

"He continued to live upon his reserve, and died at an advanced age in 1836. His reservation was known, and it is yet distinguished by the name of Deo-no-sä-da-geh, signifying the "Burnt House." (E. S. Parker in Fourth Report of Regents on State Museum.) The present Gyantwaka is Mr. Joseph Keppler, of New York.

113 In the textile arts the Iroquois had progressed as far
I. 255 as basket and mat making and finger weaving.

II. 17 "Finger weaving with warp and woof must rank as one of the greatest of inventions. The Iroquois manufactured belts and burden straps with warp and woof of excellent

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quality and finish, using fine twine made of filaments of elm and basswood bark. The principles of this great invention, which has since clothed the human family, were perfectly realized, but they were unable to extend it to the production of the woven garment." (*Ancient Society*, 528.)

114 Lafitau, also, says that the original design of the
I. 256 garment was retained when European fabrics were
II. 47 substituted for the original material. (See Lafitau,
III. 28.)

115 For illustrations of the various types of snow-shoes
II. 35 see "Snow Shoes in the National Museum," *S. R. N. M.*, 1894. The Iroquois and Algonquin types of snow-shoes are especially well contrived and made, evidently suggesting that these stocks or one of them at least had long existed in a land of deep snows.

In the country in which most of the Iroquoians lived, the snow-shoe was indispensable for a full third of the year. Lafitau says that children learning to walk were taught to toe in, in order that they might walk better on snow-shoes when the time came.

116 The air-gun was not known to the primitive North
II. 37 American Indians.

117 For the use of this pump drill for fire making, see
II. 39 Hough, "Fire Making Apparatus in the U. S. National Museum," *S. R. N. M.*, 1888. For other uses see McGuire, "A Study of the Primitive Methods of Drilling," *S. R. N. M.*, 1894. The simple drill revolved between the hands probably preceded the pump drill as a fire-making implement as well as for boring purposes. Some Algonquins got fire from pyrites.

118 In Dr. Beauchamp's list of Onondaga names of
II. 57 plants he gives the following, "Jack in the Pulpit, Kah-a-hoo-sa, Indian cradle. This is very good, the Indian cradle board having a bow near the upper end, over which a covering is drawn to protect the baby's head." (*Indian Names in N. Y.*, 114.)

HEALERS

MEDICINE

119 LAFITAU (IV. 79 ff.) presents an interesting essay
I. 241 on Indian medicine. It seems that there were two classes of practitioners, healing the one by art, and the other by science. The first class treated ailments by physical means, lotions, decoctions, steam-baths, etc. Many of their remedies were surprisingly efficacious, others operated rather by violence than by any special adaptation to the end. The herbs which they used were improved by being gathered at certain times and seasons, etc., and the general method of treating diseases was not unlike that of remote communities anywhere. Their surgery was clumsy, being performed only with flint instruments, and to the surprise of the French they used bleeding only for local congestions, not as the panacea it was in Europe. They could set broken bones, and in the cure of wounds were wonderfully successful. Lafitau describes the treatment, which consisted simply in keeping the wound clean and sheltering it from the air. The effects of this therapy seemed marvellous to Europeans.

The other class, who were held in greater honor and were better paid, taught that disease was due rather to psychical than to physical causes, and for its cure they practised a course of treatment which may be most briefly and intelligibly described as, *parva componere magnis*, a sort of Heathen Science. The patient was sick because of some evil thought, or other malevolence acting upon his spirit, and could be cured only by the spiritual efforts of the healer, exerted in both present and absent treatment, and often accompanied by much blowing, reciting of rituals, exercises, jugglery, etc., etc. Since this class of healer did not recognize the existence of disease, no knowledge of anatomy was necessary. Occasionally they made a slight concession to the widespread belief that disease has a physical cause and exhibited a stone, stick, or other object, which they pretended to have extracted

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from the patient, alleging that it had been implanted in his body by the malevolence of witch, demon, or other enemy.

CHILDREN

120 "THE severest punishment that they inflict upon
I. 232 small children is to throw water in their faces or threaten them with it." (Lafitau, II. 289.)

AGED

121 THE custom of putting to death the aged and help-
I. 165 less is widespread. It was intended as an act of kindness, not as a cruelty, and thus we get a better understanding of many of the stories of New England captives. A prisoner, unable to march, was tomahawked as an act of mercy, in preference to leaving him to perish by starvation in the wilderness. The Iroquois had the custom, but when the reason for it did not exist, it was of course not practised. Thus a cripple who could not be carried on a journey would be despatched, as would a young infant whose mother had died, or an old person belonging to an indigent house. If the house were wealthy, the old would be preserved alive. So whenever a town was taken, whether by French or by Americans, there were found helpless old people, left behind because unable to depart when the town was abandoned. Since many
I. 244 of the distinguished and active lived far beyond the century, the imagination falters in the attempt to number the years of some of these venerable pensioners.

JAVELIN GAME

122 For a folk tale of the prairies, in which the motive
I. 289 is furnished by this javelin game, see "The Girl who was the Ring," by Geo. Bird Grinnell, *Harper's*, February, 1901.

THE LONG HOUSE

DANCES

123 THE following is a literal copy of a manuscript list
I. 278 of dances, written by Nicholson Parker (Da-ah-de-a)
and now in the possession of Mrs. Harriet Maxwell Converse.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ga-nah-yastate | New Years. |
| 2. Go-na-o-oh | Thanksgiving dance. Thanks to the
Great Spirit. |
| 3. A-da-wah | War song. |
| 4. Os-do-wah-go-wa | Feather dance. |
| 5. Ga-ya-dah | Game of chance. |
| 6. Oh-gi-wa or | Maple sugar dance. Principally got
up by women and mixed with other
dances, with thanks. |
| 7. Wa-dek-we-oh | Green corn dance. |
| 8. A-to-wi-sus | Woman dance and woman gives the
pitch of the song and all join in
standing in two rows, and men occa-
sionally join by war song. |
| 9. Oh-gi-wa Ga-ya-doh-ge-aah | Woman dead song for all night. |
| 10. De-yoh-dah-so-dai-goh | Woman song dance, for Pigmies with
berry wine. |
| 11. Ga-no-dah | Medicine song. |
| 12. Jih-dose | When patient is let go. |
| 13. Jih-dose | Song and dance. |
| 14. Jiha-yah | Charm song. |
| 15. Ga-joh-o-a-noh | Fish and mixed. |
| 16. Ga-da-s-yot | Trotting dance. |
| 17. Nya-gwaih O-a-noh | Bear dance. |
| 18. De-gi-yah-goh O-a-noh | Buffalo dance. |
| 19. Gaah-go-waah O-a-noh | Pigeon dance. |
| 20. Knos-dah-gee-kaah | Nude dance. 2 men and 2 women
face each other when time com-
mences over dancers change places. |
| 21. De-yo-da-nas-hon-tah | Circle dance. |
| 21. Ga-nes-do-gah-ceh de-ye-nyot-hah. | |

THE LONG HOUSE

124 "THE Iroquois Long-houses disappeared before the
I. 308 commencement of the present century. Very little is

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now remembered by the Indians themselves of their form and mechanism, or of the plan of life within them. Some knowledge of these houses remains among that class of Indians who are curious about their ancient customs. It has passed into the traditionary form and is limited to a few particulars. A complete understanding of the mode of life in these long-houses will not, probably, ever be recovered," (Morgan, *Houses*, 122.)

Thus it happens that, although the Long House has been often described, there is much disagreement as to the particulars of its construction and use. Rather curiously the variance is more serious in the dimensions and occupation of these buildings, which any one might observe, than in the details of the architecture, to record which more care is necessary. It will be seen that Morgan's specifications in the *League* agree fairly well with those of Lafitau given below.

As this is the nearest approach to a complete technical account of the architecture of these interesting buildings, a translation by an architect rather than by a layman seemed to be indicated, and Mr. Michel M. LeBrun has kindly prepared the following translation expressly for this work :

"It is not without reason that the name of Hotinnonsioni or Builders of Cabins has been given to the Iroquois; they are indeed the most comfortably lodged of all America. Nevertheless, this name is not so exclusively their property that it cannot be also applied to the Hurons and to some other of their neighbors, who have adopted from them the same manner of building.

"These cabins are also in the form of a vault or garden arbor; they are five or six fathoms wide, high in proportion, and vary in length according to the number of fires. Each fire adds twenty to twenty-five feet to the length of a cabin of a single fire, which does not exceed thirty or forty feet. Each of these cabins rests on four posts for each fire which are the base and support of the entire structure. Around the entire circumference, that is to say, all the length of the two sides

LAFITAU'S SPECIFICATIONS

and the two gable ends, pickets are planted to secure the pieces of elm bark which form the walls and which are bound together with strips made from the interior coating or inner bark of white wood. The square frame being raised, the roof framing is made with poles bent to the form of a bow, which also are covered with pieces of bark a fathom long and a foot or fifteen inches wide. These pieces of bark lap one over the other like slate. They are secured outside with fresh poles similar to those which form the roof frame underneath, and are still further strengthened by long pieces of saplings split in two. These run along the whole length of the cabin, from end to end, and are fastened to the extremities of the roof, on the sides, or on the wings, by pieces of wood cut with hooked ends, which are regularly spaced for this purpose.

“The pieces of bark are prepared a long time before using. They are removed from the trees, after girdling, when the sap is rising, because then they are more easily stripped off; and after the outer surface, which is too knotty, has been removed from them, they pile them compactly one on the other that they may not warp, and thus they are left to dry. The poles and the wood necessary in building the structure are prepared in the same way, and when the time has come to commence work, the youth of the village, for whose encouragement a feast has been provided, are invited, and in a day or two all the work is set up, more from the multitude of hands working upon it than by the diligence of the workers.

“After the body of the building is finished, those for whom it is especially intended work leisurely to embellish the interior and to make the necessary compartments after their usages and needs. The middle space is always the place of the fire, from which the smoke escapes by an opening made directly above it in the roof, and which serves also to give light. These buildings being without windows are only lighted from above in the same manner as the celebrated Rotunda built by

I. 225 Agrippa, which may still be seen entire in Rome. This opening is closed by one or two movable pieces of bark,

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which are moved back and forth as desired during the heavy rains or certain winds which would cause a back draft for the smoke, and render the cabins very uncomfortable. I speak here only of the cabins built like those of the Iroquois; as those which are round, or are built in the manner of an ice cellar, have not even the opening in the top, so that they are both darker and the inmates more of a prey to the smoke.

"Along the fires there extends on each side a platform of twelve to thirteen feet in length by five or six in width and nearly as high. These platforms, shut in on all sides except that towards the fire, serve as beds and as chairs to sit down upon; on the bark which forms the floor of the platform they spread rush mats and furs. On this bed, which is hardly a fit support for the effeminate or lazy, they stretch themselves without ceremony, wrapped in the same clothes that they wear during the day. They hardly know what it is to use a pillow. Some of them, however, since they have seen French ways, make pillows of wood or of mats rolled up. The more luxurious ones use them made of skin and stuffed with the hair of the deer or the moose; but in a little while they are so greasy and dirty and are so disgusting to look at that it is only such slovenly people as these savages who could endure them.

"The base of the platform, on which they sleep, is elevated at most one foot from the ground; it is given this elevation to avoid the dampness, and it is not greater, on the other hand, to avoid the inconvenience of the smoke which is insupportable in the cabins when standing erect, or even a little raised.

"The bark which covers the platforms above and which forms the ceiling of the bed, serves them as a closet and larder, where they place, in the view of every one, their dishes and all the little utensils of their household. Between the plat-

II. 22 forms are placed large chests of bark, in the form of tuns, and five or six feet high, where they put the corn when shelled.

"The cabins of the Iroquois have two exits. At each end

DOORS AND VESTIBULES

there is a kind of separate lobby or small apartment and an exterior vestibule.

“There are in these lobbies, as well as in the free space between the platforms, small closets on the two sides where they place the mats of straw or reeds which are for the young people when the family is numerous, or for their own use in the seasons when the vicinity of the fire is no longer so necessary. These closets are raised three or four feet to insure them from the importunity of the fleas; below is placed the supply of small wood.

“The exterior vestibule is closed in winter with pieces of bark and serves them as a shed for large wood, but in summer it is opened to the air on all sides, and some in the warmest weather place their mats on the roofs of these vestibules, which are flat, and not raised as high as the cabins. They sleep thus in the air without minding the evening damp.

“While it is possible to walk back and forth in the cabins on either side of the fires between the hearths and the mats, it is nevertheless not a comfortable place for a promenade; moreover, the savage, wherever he is, unless he is actually travelling, is always either seated or lying down, and never walks. They are even as surprised to see the Europeans walking back and forth over the same path as were the people of Spain, of whom Strabo speaks, who seeing some Centurions of the Roman army thus walking supposed them to have lost their wits, and offered to conduct them to their cabins. For they thought that they should either remain quietly seated in their tents, or that they should desire to fight.

“The doors of the cabins are pieces of movable bark, suspended outside by the top, without lock or key. In former days nothing was locked with the savages. When they went for a long time abroad, they contented themselves with closing their doors with a bar of wood, to protect them from the dogs of the village. During all the centuries that have preceded us, they have lived in perfect security, and without much

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protection from one another ; the most suspicious would leave their most precious belonging with friends, or would bury them in holes made expressly under their mats, or in some secret place in their cabins. Some now have chests, or small boxes, others fortify their cabins by gables formed of rudely made boards, and in them put doors of wood with locks which they buy of the Europeans, whose vicinity has frequently taught them, at their expense, that what they have closed is not always in security.

“ They double their doors to protect themselves from the cold and the smoke ; and make what seems like a second door with blankets of skins or wool. In the common and ordinary cold weather, their cabins are sufficiently warm, but when the northwest winds blow and there occurs one of those severe Canadian spells which last seven and eight days in succession, and are cold enough to split stones, then the cold having penetrated in, I cannot understand how they can endure it, being as little covered as they are, especially those who sleep far from the fire.

“ During the summer they are cool enough, but full of fleas and bed-bugs, they are also very unsavory when they dry their fish in the smoke.” (Laftau, III. 9.)

In *Houses*, Morgan alters materially the description given in the *League*, and if the Jesuits and others who lived in these dwellings are to be believed, his amendments are not improvements. He says : “ The ‘ long-house ’ of the Iroquois was from fifty to eighty and sometimes one hundred feet long.

“ The interior was comparted at intervals of six or eight feet, leaving each chamber entirely open like a stall upon the passage way which passed through the centre of the house, from end to end.

“ At each end was a doorway covered with suspended skins. Between each four apartments, two on a side, was a fire pit in the centre of the hall, used in common by their occupants. Thus a house with five fires would contain twenty apartments and accommodate twenty families, unless

WHAT BARTRAM OBSERVED

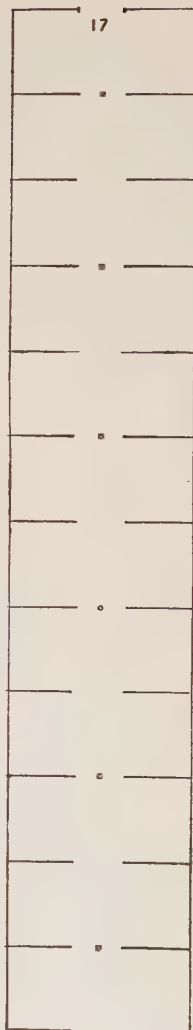
some apartments were reserved for storage. They were warm, roomy, and tidily kept habitations. Raised bunks were constructed around the walls of each apartment for beds." (*Houses*, p. 120.)

It will be observed that Morgan says, in the *League*, that a five-fire house would be one hundred and twenty feet long and contain ten families, which accords exactly with the statements of the Jesuits and of Champlain, while according to *Houses*, such a house would be but eighty feet long, and yet would contain twenty families.

The description in the *League* is from Seneca tradition. Morgan changed it after reading Bartram's *Observations*, made on his journey to Onondaga in 1743.

"We alighted at the council house, where the chiefs were already assembled to receive us, which they did with a grave cheerful complaisance according to their custom; they shew'd us where to lay our baggage, and repose ourselves during our stay with them; which was in the two end apartments of this large house. The Indians that came with us, were placed over against us; this cabin is about 80 feet long, and 17 broad, the common passage 6 feet wide; and the apartments on each side 5 feet, raised a foot above the passage by a long sapling hewed square, and fitted with joists that go from it to the back of the house; on these joists they lay large pieces of bark, and on extraordinary occasions spread matts made of rushes, this favour we had; on these floors they set or lye down every one as he will, the apartments are divided from each other by boards or bark, 6 or 7 foot long, from the lower floor to the upper, on which they put their lumber, when they have eaten their homony, as they set in each apartment before the fire, they can put the bowel over head, having not above 5 foot to reach; they set on the floor sometimes at each end, but mostly at one: they have a shed to put their wood into in the winter, or in the summer, to set to converse or play, that has a door to the south; all the sides and roof of the cabin is made of bark, bound fast to

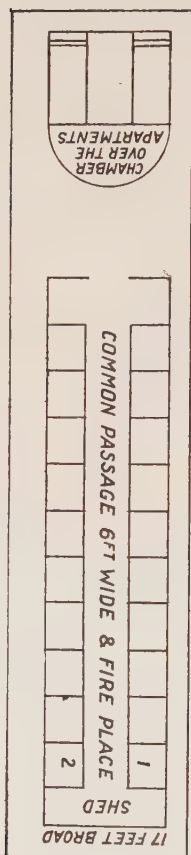
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96 FT.

SENECA LONG-HOUSE

From Morgan's Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines.



ONONDAGA COUNCIL-HOUSE OF 1743

From Observations made by Mr. John Bartram in his Travels

1 Our Indians Apartment

2 Our Apartment

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poles set in the ground, and bent round on the top, or set aflatt, for the roof as we set our rafters; over each fire place they leave a hole to let out the smoak, which in rainy weather they cover with a piece of bark, and this they can easily reach with a pole to push it on one side or quite over the hole, after this model are most of their cabins built, figure annexed."

Bartram's description being unquestionable authority for what he saw, and his diagram being the only contemporaneous plan extant, Morgan apparently distrusted the correct information which the Senecas had given him and sought to plan a communal dwelling on the Bartram dimensions. Knowing from the ash-pits found on village sites the distance between fires, he was obliged to make each fire serve four families and to place the fires at the partitions, a most inconvenient and somewhat dangerous location, if the partitions were as long as his diagram indicates; but of partitions running further across than the width of the bed, or of "chambers like stalls," there is no evidence in the early writers, and some of them expressly say the contrary. Nor could Morgan have considered that the "raised bunks constructed for beds around the walls" of these diminutive apartments would have been very comfortable resting-places. In the Bartram house, if placed around all the walls, two of the bunks would have been five feet long and the other three feet. Apparently Morgan felt the difficulty, for his own diagram shows eight-foot compartments. Mr. Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I. 66, copies the description and diagram from *Houses*, and has thus given them a wide circulation. The six-foot compartments, and also the four families to a fire, were probably both exceptional arrangements, and should not be accepted as typical. In the accompanying plans Morgan's and Bartram's diagrams are reproduced, and a new ground plan is presented, prepared from Lafitau's description. Morgan had the key to the dimensions when he figured them in lengths of the human body, the unit used to-day in building forest camps. The Jesuit writers do the same, giving dimensions in fathoms

COUNCIL HOUSES

(Brasses), and the Bartram plan uses the same unit. Some of the apartments shown on the Bartram plan were probably used for storage, so that the only material difference between Bartram and Lafitau is that Bartram's beds are one man long, and Lafitau's two men. For this a reason may be found in the special uses of the Bartram building.

Bartram and his party were ambassadors, and so were quartered not in an ordinary dwelling but in the council-house, which was especially arranged for the accommodation of visitors and for feasts and assemblies. Such use being but temporary, the apartments were small, like those in a summer hotel, and each apartment consisted, as Bartram describes it, and as his plan plainly indicates, of a single bunk, five by seven, in which he and his two companions could lie comfortably or "set before the fire," for there was a fire between each pair of opposite apartments in this house as in others. Over these bunks was the platform where they placed their goods. It was, moreover, necessary to reduce the span of this platform in a council-house, because of the great weight which might come upon it. The short distance between the fires was also a convenience during councils. Light is thrown on this subject from a curious source. In September, 1637, there was brought to the Huron village of Tondakhra an Iroquois prisoner named Saouandanoncua, who was tortured in the war council-house. This house must have been about the size of Bartram's, for it contained eleven fires six feet apart, and up and down the house through and around these fires Saouandanoncua was driven till he dropped, while the old men watched the entertainment from their places above "upon a sort of platform which runs on each side the entire length of the cabins, while the young men were below, but so crowded that they were, so to speak, on top of each other, until there was scarcely passage along the fires." (Le Jeune's Rel. 1637, 13 *J. R.*, 60). It is possible that an unusual number of fires may have been lighted for this entertainment, but the probabilities are the other way.

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The conclusions reached are, therefore, that the unit of measurement in the construction of these houses was the length of the body; that there were no partitions except the boxing in of the beds and store-closets; that in the ordinary dwelling, when there was no special reason for compression, each family occupied a division eighteen or twenty feet in length, consisting of a bunk two beds long and additional room for storage; that in the middle alley there was a fire for each opposite pair of such divisions; and that there were normally four beds but only two families to a fire.

The statements in the *League* as to the size of the apartments and the usual number of families to a fire may thus be accepted, though there may have been a reduction in the number of fires at times because of scarcity of wood or for other reasons. As to the size of the houses, they seem to have varied in width from twenty to thirty feet. The Bartram house could be narrower because of its special uses. In length the extreme recorded is three hundred feet. (Bresani, *Rel.* 1653, 38 *J. R.*, 246.) The height was nearly equal to the width.

Gen. John S. Clark's studies, and especially his field work, make him the first authority on this subject, and since this note is not in accord with Morgan's latest views, General Clark's opinion was asked. He replies under date of September 2, 1901: "The account given by Bartram, pp. 40, 41, with the illustration, is the most trustworthy account that I have seen as to the dimensions of a 'long house' and the size of the compartments. Van Curler says in 1634-5 they are '100—90 or 80 paces long and 22 to 23 feet high.' This appears to be somewhat exaggerated. Cartier's illustration, found in Ramusio, p. 380, shows an arrangement of four, four and five compartments to a fire. These are supposed to have been Hurons. Champlain's illustration of the Iroquois Castle, 1615, gives a general idea of the outer appearance of the long house, but gives no details of the internal arrangements. I conclude that the size of the compartments

STANDARD DIMENSIONS

in some cases depended on circumstances. A large village crowded within the limits of a palisaded enclosure would be restricted to less space than such as described by Bartram in 1750, where the houses were scattered for some distance up and down the valley. A large family would require more room than a small one, and undoubtedly more than one compartment would be assigned to a family of eight or ten persons. The descriptions in the *Jesuit Relations* agree substantially with Bartram's account of an alley six feet wide and compartments about six feet square with fires in the centre of the alley for every four compartments. The house was sometimes one hundred and fifty feet long. The standard Iroquois house was from eighteen to twenty-two feet wide." For references to the illustrations in *Ramusio and Champlain*, see note 21.

The vestibules mentioned by Lafitau and Bartram, but ignored by Morgan, were important as meeting-places of the men and for many uses. Here too a captive would be kept until it was decided whether he was to be taken into the house as an adopted member of the clan or led away to torture and death. (Lafitau, III. 246.) The roof of the main house was usually a round arch, but sometimes made with straight rafters like our own. In either form it was probably too steep for a resting-place, but onto the flatter roof of the vestibule people climbed to see the sights, to harangue their neighbors, or for any of the purposes for which the burghers of New Amsterdam and their successors have used their front stoops.

At the Chicago Exposition a reconstruction of the Long House was to be seen, and at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo a complete stockaded village. In neither of these was the interior of the house completely finished. A photograph of the Chicago structure is reproduced in the *Report of the Managers of the New York Exhibit*, 500. The roofs of these buildings, both at Chicago and Buffalo, were rather flatter than the old accounts and pictures would indicate, and it would be interesting to see whether they would carry a

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heavy weight of snow. At each exhibition round houses were also shown as representing Iroquois architecture.

As to tidiness, it was not easy to attain, and in many houses it was not attained. Perhaps the Hurons were worse than the Iroquois. "Everything is in the dust, and if you enter there you will not reach the end of the cabin without being covered with soot and filth and dirt." (Le Jeune, Rel. 1639, 17 *J. R.*, 14.)

I. 308 "The model six feet by four (from which the plate shown in Vol. I. p. 3, is made) shows very perfectly the mechanism of the bark house throughout; but it is defective in its proportions. It was designed for two fires or four families, and therefore should be either longer or narrower and not as high. With this criticism in mind the plate gives a faithful impression of the primitive house of the Iroquois." Morgan, *Fifth Regent's Report*, 116.

The Long House was typical of the sedentary agricultural tribes rather than of any particular stock. 125 All the Iroquoians built them, for all were agriculturists. The southern Algonquins, such as the Illinois and the Powhattans, constructed dwellings of the same type. An Algonquin Long House built by the Nyacks of Long Island is described in Dankers' and Sluyter's Journal of a Voyage to New York, *Long Island Historical Society Memoirs*, I. 124. The Carib dwellings of this type are mentioned by Lafitau, III. 7, and even in the far distant mountains of Chili the Indians built and dwelt in the same way. Probably they do so yet.

"The house, having much the form of a boat turned upside down, presented, at a short distance, the appearance of a haystack. Its length was about a hundred and forty feet, and the width some thirty odd. The peak stood near fifteen feet from the ground, and the sides sloped down without any eaves. The customary shed of cane and twigs was ranged on one side, and in front ran the heavy cross-bar, within which no stranger presumes to enter without an invitation.

ARAUUCANIAN HOUSE

"The interior reminded me of a ship's between-decks. On either hand stood a row of cane partitions forming, as it were, state-rooms for the various members of the family, which was a large one, as several of the sons were married. Overhead were the usual provision lofts, and down the middle of the cabin blazed half a dozen fires, each having an aperture above it in the ceiling through which the smoke rose and found its way out through the chimney-holes left open in the centre and at each end of the roof. Large stones were ranged around the fires to support the pots used for cooking, and the ashes were allowed to accumulate as they fell, — a custom adding nothing to the cleanliness of the ladies who were squatted round preparing the evening meal. As the cooking goes on at all hours, these houses are always smoky." (Smith, *The Araucanians*, New York, 1855, p. 295, and plate on page 303.)

126 The Long House was not only the mark of society
I. 48, of the grade to which the Iroquois had raised them-
90, 97
II. 80 selves. It was in itself the perfect similitude of
the Iroquois social and political organization. To an
Iroquois the League was not like a Long House. It *was* a
Long House, extending from the Hudson to the Genesee, in
which around five fires the five tribes gathered. The Mo-
hawk Wolf-clan kept the eastern door, the Seneca Wolves
the western. At each fire the sachems like pillars upheld
the roof, the chiefs were the braces that fortified the structure.
It was rather in literal than in metaphorical speech that in
1652 the Mohawks, jealous that the Canada trade should go
I. 131 direct to Onondaga by way of Lake Ontario instead
of paying toll in their valley, warned the French, with
a threat that the simile employed rather emphasized than hid.

"Is not the door the proper entrance to the house, and not
the chimney or the roof of the cabin, unless the visitor be a
thief and wishes to surprise the people? We constitute but
one house, we five Iroquois nations, we build but one fire and
we have through all time dwelt under the same roof. Well,

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then, will you not enter the cabin by the door, which is on the ground floor of the house? It is with us, the Mohawks, that you should begin. You would enter by the roof and by the chimney if you begin with the Onondagas. Have you no fear lest the smoke may blind you, our fire not being extinguished? Do you not fear to fall from the top to the bottom having nothing solid whereon to plant your feet?"

I. 332 When a new fire became necessary the end-work was removed and the building lengthened. This statement refers to both the actual and the political structure. The name carried in it the possibility of extension, and the plan of the founders was to take in other peoples and their fires until all who would had joined the League. As already suggested, the house was originally of four fires and the Mohawks were taken in later. If Hale is correct the name Hodenosaunee may present a record of this, for he translates it "People of the Extended House."

I. 42 "The Tuscaroras were a refugee tribe from the south, and entered the Long House not by the regular doorway at the west, but knocked for admission at the sides of the Long House, claiming consanguinity as the basis of admission. They were taken in, but some of the bark of the sides of the Long House had to be taken off to admit them, and as a penalty for their irregular entrance into the House they were debarred the high privilege of having sachems. They were therefore never accorded the right of hereditary representation at the high councils of the League except as spectators, and they could only be heard through the sachem of some other tribe." (Ely S. Parker, MS. in the possession of Mrs. Harriet Maxwell Converse.)

UNITY OF INDIAN LIFE

127 Morgan afterwards visited many western tribes in
II. 60 their homes. He has left records of his personal observations of the Ojibways, the Arickarees, the Sioux, and

“THE OREGON TRAIL”

the Pueblos. In penning this paragraph, he doubtless had in mind the adventurous journey of Francis Parkman, who “desiring a picture of Iroquois life before Hendrick Hudson” had a short time before gone to “look for it at the skirts of the Rocky Mountains.” Parkman had had for a long time in contemplation the “plan of writing a story of the war that ended in the conquest of Canada,” but as he was setting to work his eyes failed him. “Doubtless to study with the eyes of another is practicable, yet the expedient is not an eligible one, and the writer bethought him of an alternative. It was essential to his plans to give an inside view of Indian life. This, then, was the time at once to accomplish the object and rest his failing vision. Accordingly he went to the Rocky Mountains,” and joining a large band of Ogalala Sioux accompanied them for some weeks in their hunts and wanderings, slept in their lodges and lived their life. (Farnham, *Life of Parkman*). “They were thorough savages. Neither their manners nor their ideas were in the slightest degree modified by contact with civilization. Their religion, superstitions, and prejudices were the same handed down to them from immemorial time. They fought with the same weapons that their fathers fought with, and wore the same garments of skins. They were living representatives of the ‘stone age’; for though their lances and arrows were tipped with iron procured from the traders they still used the rude stone mallet of the primeval world.” (*Oregon Trail*, 189. See also Fiske, Introduction to Champlain edition of Parkman.)

Morgan read *The Oregon Trail* at the time when he was beginning his own work, and when he wrote the words of the text the first fruit of Parkman’s studies, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, was almost ready for the press. Parkman freely attributes to the Iroquois and Hurons who live in his writings the traits and habits which he had observed among the Sioux. The similitude may however be forced too far. Both the village-dwelling Pueblos and the roving tribes of the prairies differed greatly in manner of life and slightly in manner of

APPENDIX B

thought from the Iroquois. The Iroquois had their permanent towns, but retained the habit and instinct of annual migration. Their wide territories were limited by definite bounds and were held with a firm hand. They were remarkable for artisan skill, wisdom in statecraft, and eloquence in oratory. By the study of other tribes the Iroquois as they were in the days of their triumphs may be understood, but they cannot be recalled.

PROGRESS AND DESTINY

¹²⁸ IN the fifty years elapsed since Morgan wrote, no
II. 60, very marked change has taken place in the condition
¹¹⁹ of the Iroquois. The policy of the State has been benevolent and vacillating in purpose and negligent in execution. Its not very vigorous though well-intended efforts have been retarded and defeated by the conservatism of the Indians, sometimes due to patriotism, sometimes to laziness. Yet until the State presents a consistent and adequate plan, the Indians can hardly be expected to welcome a change from the present conditions, under which they are for the most part comfortable and fairly prosperous.

The Oneidas alone have divided (in 1842) their lands in severalty, have allowed their tribal organization to lapse, are citizens and voters, and have become, so far as status, occupation, and manner of life go, inseparable from the people of the State. This statement applies only to those Oneidas who remained in their ancient territories. A number of Oneidas are still found on the reservations of the other tribes. The citizen Oneidas are not perceptibly better off than the Iroquois on the reservations.

The Senecas have become two communities. Those dwelling on the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations are practically a municipal corporation and have a written constitution, accepted by the New York Legislature, under which they administer their affairs. The Cornplanter Senecas, although

PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN

dwelling in Pennsylvania, are in most respects a part of this community.

The Tonawanda Senecas, the Tuscaroras, the Onondagas, and the St. Regis Mohawks have separate tribal governments, each subject to certain general and special statutes of the State.

The Onondagas and the two divisions of the Senecas are divided between the conservative or "pagan" party and the progressive or "Christian" party, this being a political as well as a religious division. Politically, at least, the "pagans" prevail.

Most of the Tuscaroras are Protestant Christians. The St. Regis are Catholic Christians, forming one religious community with their brethren across the international boundary.

Farming is the chief occupation with all the tribes. Generally speaking, they are not up to the standard of their white neighbors, though white communities can be found with which the Indians need not shirk comparison. There are found on the reservations, as everywhere else, the thrifty and the unthrifty, the industrious and the idle.

(See *Indian Problem*, *Eleventh Census*, and *New York Statutes*.)

As already stated, the Indians will ultimately become merged in our citizenship. One who knows them well wrote in 1889: "Nowadays we undoubtedly ought to break up the great Indian reservations, disregard the tribal governments, allot the land in severalty (with, however, only a limited power of alienation), and treat the Indians as we do other citizens, with certain exceptions, for their sakes as well as ours." (*Winning of the West*, I. 332.) Yet in carrying out this policy Morgan's remark, already quoted by Mr. Porter, will serve as a useful monitor. It is idle to attempt to transplant the Indian across two or three ethnic periods. We cannot expect him, even with assistance and guidance, to travel in one generation the distance which it has taken our own not inferior race hundreds of generations to accomplish. The benevo-

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lent people who talk of full citizenship and full power to alienate property for all Indians in twenty years are both unwise and cruel. With wisdom and justice let us give them the tools with which to work out their salvation, and let us bear constantly in mind that those tools are sharp-edged. The agricultural Iroquois, dwelling for a century among our most orderly communities, are not yet American citizens. What can be expected, without great wisdom and patience on our part, of the rovers of the prairies? The needful, the indispensable solvents of the Indian problem are time, a great deal of time, and a very great deal of patience, both on our own part and on theirs.

TRIBAL NAMES

129 The names by which the tribes of the League have
I. 50 been called by French, English, and Dutch writers and the spellings of these names are legion. The curious may find a few (about two hundred) specimens in the Index Volume (XI.) of the *New York Colonial Documents*.

The names in common use are

ENGLISH	IROQUOIS	FRENCH
Five (Six) Nations	Hodenosaunee	Iroquois
Mohawks	Ganeagaono	Agniés
Oneidas	Onayotekaono	Onneiouts
Onondagas	Onundagaono	Onnontagués
Cayugas	Gweugwehono	Goyogouens
Senecas	Nundawaono	Sonnontouans
Tuscaroras	Dusgaowehono	Tuscarorins

All the French and English titles are derived from the Iroquois names except the descriptive term Five (or Six) Nations, Mohawks, the Algonquin name of the tribe, signifying Bears, and Iroquois, which is of uncertain origin. The French had difficulty with the Iroquois *g*. Hence Agniés (from Ganeaga). So they sometimes called the Cayugas Oioguens, and the Conestogas became on French lips Gandastogues, Andastogues, Andastes.

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